

Moral Instruction in Budō:

A Study of Chiba Chōsaku with a Translation of his Major Work

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Abstract

This thesis provides a translation and transliteration of a late Meiji period martial arts text, *Moral Instruction in Budō* (1912), together with a study of its author, Chiba Chōsaku (1861-1935). The aim is to contextualize Chiba's thinking in the framework of historical events and ideological currents of his time, in order to facilitate better understanding of his contribution. Chiba argued that martial arts practice (budō) is the way to maintain and transmit martial religious ethics (bushidō) in the modern condition of Westernized Japan. The importance of Chiba's study lies in his claim that bushidō is not a legacy of the medieval samurai class, but a due faith based on loyalty to the Emperor and patriotism toward the Japanese nation, which provides the foundation for budō practice. Chiba submits that the implementation of budō instruction at the level of national education would prevent the slackening of morals and contribute to strengthening of the Japanese national character and military institution. Chiba's career and writings demonstrate that the militarist slant in the budō ideology of Japan did not occur in the 1930s, as is generally accepted, but began at least two decades earlier. As the earliest example of a narrative that blends budō and bushidō ideologies, *Moral Instruction in Budō* remains a crucial text for understanding the historical impact of martial arts in Japan.

Résumé

Cette thèse offre une traduction et une translittération d'un texte datant de la fin de l'ère Meiji sur les arts martiaux, *Moral Instruction in Budō* (1912), ainsi qu'une étude sur l'auteur, Chiba Chōsaku (1861-1935). L'objectif visé consiste à conceptualiser la pensée de Chiba dans la perspective des événements historiques et des courants idéologiques de son époque, en vue de faciliter une meilleure compréhension de sa véritable contribution. Chiba défendait l'idée que la pratique des arts martiaux (budō) soit la manière de maintenir et de transmettre l'éthique religieuse martiale (bushidō) dans la condition moderne du Japon occidentalisé. L'œuvre de Chiba prend toute son importance lorsqu'il affirme que le bushidō ne découle pas d'un héritage issu de la classe des samouraïs médiévaux, mais plutôt d'une foi récompense basée sur la loyauté en l'Empereur et sur le patriotisme envers la nation japonaise, laquelle fournit les fondements de la pratique du budō. Chiba soumet l'idée que la mise en application de l'enseignement du budō au niveau de l'éducation nationale préviendrait contre le relâchement de la morale et contribuerait au renforcement du caractère national japonais et de l'institution militaire. La carrière et les écrits de Chiba démontrent que la tendance militariste de l'idéologie budō n'a pas fait son apparition dans les années 1930, comme il est généralement accepté, mais qu'elle a débuté au moins deux décennies plus tôt. Comme il s'agit du tout premier exemple d'une narration fusionnant les idéologies budō et bushidō, *Moral Instruction in Budō* ne laisse pas d'être un texte crucial dans la compréhension de l'impact historique des arts martiaux au Japon.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Why study *Budō Kyōkun*?

One of the most influential contemporary budō researchers of Japan, Watanabe Ichirō selected *Moral Instruction in Budō* for inclusion in his anthology of the Meiji period martial arts texts,¹ which gives a sense of how important this text is for understanding the history of martial arts in Japan. We need to begin with some terminological distinctions. We need to keep in mind, for instance, the fundamental distinction between *budō* and *bushidō* in the modern sense of both terms. Before the Meiji period, both words comprised a wide variety of notions common to the warrior class, ranging from “vendetta” to warrior-like “comportment.” From the Meiji period, proponents of martial arts began to use the term “budō” to refer to Japanese martial arts collectively in order to underscore their presumed ethical values, as well as those pertaining to physical culture. In contrast, “bushidō” gradually came to denote an “unwritten warrior code” as well as a “samurai spirit” peculiar to Japanese spiritual culture.² The result was a sharp divide between budō and bushidō, to the point that budō proponents and bushidō idealists did not usually talk to each other. *Moral Instruction in Budō* is significant and unusual as the only budō text of the Meiji period that makes bushidō its main subject. Other budō texts would at best mention the word “bushidō” in passing.³ This is not to say that it was an unfamiliar term to most martial artists of the period, yet their writings suggest that they were primarily concerned with production of manuals for their respective styles and less with the ideology

¹ Ichirō Watanabe 渡辺一郎, ed., *Shiryō Meiji Budō Shi* 史料明治武道史 (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha 新人物往来社, 1971), 701-19.

² Shun Inoue 井上俊, *Budō no Tanjō* 武道の誕生, *Rekishi Bunka Raiburari* 歴史文化ライブラリー (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2004), 2-3.

³ I have read through Watanabe’s anthology as well as located and perused most of the works that were listed in the bibliography of complete works of Meiji-Taisho period budō-bushidō publications (journals, magazines, and newspapers are not included) in Watanabe, ed., *Shiryō Meiji Budō Shi* 史料明治武道史, 883-90.

behind it. The situation with works on bushidō is slightly more complicated: some make no coherent reference to martial arts, others critique martial arts practice as retrograde practices, and yet others present them in a favorable light, but not a single book tries to address both budō and bushidō on equal terms. Chiba Chōsaku's work stands out for grappling with both and for striving to integrate them in a coherent way (whether this is justified or not is another issue).

Contemporary budō historians usually point to the 1930's as the period when budō becomes a tool of militarist propaganda, while preceding periods are considered to be the time when budō proponents experimented more with the possibilities of either integrating or opposing Western physical culture and education philosophy.⁴ Chiba Chōsaku's work and propagandist activities also disrupt this narrative. He situates "the true bushidō" ideology inside the emperor system and advocates the practice of martial arts as an essential component in making this ideology work for the nation, by targeting education of youths with an eye to strengthening their martial spirit, which would in turn produce better soldiers. Chiba's account is not entirely novel in this respect, since most budō authors of the Meiji period argued for the utility of martial arts in the modern military. But Chiba Chōsaku was the only one who gave it full ideological articulation, not justifying it from an entirely utilitarian standpoint.

In light of the importance of Chiba Chōsaku's unique contribution to the history of budō-bushidō discourses, I decided not only to translate *Moral Instructions in Budō* into

⁴ Inoue, *Budō no Tanjō* 武道の誕生, 3. Also cf. Tamio Nakamura 中村民雄; and Alex Bennett, tr. ed., "Bujutsu & Budo: The Japanese Martial Arts 日本の武術・武道 (Bilingual Ed.)," in *The Spirit of Budo: The History of Japan's Martial Arts*, ed. The Japan Foundation Visual Arts Division (The Japan Foundation, 2007), 29; 43.

English with a complete transcription of the original work, but also to provide an introduction to the life and career of Chiba Chōsaku.

1.2 The Author

1.2.1. Early life

Chiba Chōsaku⁵ was born in 1861, three years after the Commercial Treaty of 1858, which marked the opening of Japan to foreign trade and residence and precipitated the downfall of the Tokugawa shogunate within the next decade.⁶ Chōsaku's birthplace, Ōshio village in the southern part of Kai region, belonged to Kōfu domain 甲府藩,⁷ which was then under direct control of the Tokugawa clan. He was the eldest son of Chiba Genjirō 地場源次郎 (1833-?),⁸ noted contributor to the development of the area in the early Meiji period⁹ and master of Hokushin Ittō-ryū 北辰一刀流.¹⁰ It is likely that, at the age of seven,

⁵ 千葉(地場)長作. His original family name was written as 地場, which he changed for 千葉 ca. 1900.

⁶ Marius B. Jansen, *The Cambridge History of Japan Volume 5, the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 315-20.

⁷ 甲斐国巨摩郡大塩村 is now part of Minobu town in Yamanashi Prefecture 山梨県身延町南巨摩郡大塩. Rizo Takeuchi 竹内理三, *Yamanashi-Ken* 山梨県, Kadokawa Nihon Chimei Daijiten, 19 角川日本地名大辞典 19 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, 1984), 1066-9. The village is located midway between Mt. Minobu (a sacred place of the Nichiren Sect) and Kōfu Castle 甲府城, in the vicinity of the Kōshū Route 甲州街道, one of the major highways in the Edo period under the *sankin kōtai* system 参勤交代. Heibonsha Chihō Shiryō Sentā 平凡社地方資料センター, *Yamanashi-Ken No Chimei* 山梨県の地名, Nihon Rekishi Chimei Taikei 19 日本歴史地名大系第十九卷 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1995), 22-7; 54-64; 740-1. Also cf. <http://www.jcastle.info/castle/profile/29-Kofu-Castle> accessed on February 14, 2009.

⁸ According to Seitaro Kitamura 北村晴太郎, "Bakumatsu kara Shōwa ni Kakete Katsuyaku Shita Kyōdo no Kengō: Chiba Chōsaku." 「幕末から昭和にかけて活躍した郷土の剣豪千葉(地場)長作,」 in *Yamanashi no Kendō* 山梨の剣道, ed. Yamanashi Prefecture Kendo Federation (Kōfu: Yamanashi-ken Kendō Renmei 山梨県剣道連盟, 2004), 319. "Genjiro" is also spelled as 源治良.

⁹ Minobu-cho 身延町, "Kyu Nakatomi-Cho Shi 旧中富町誌," (2009), <http://www.town.minobu.lg.jp/chosei/rekishi.php> p.1646. Accessed on December 15, 2008. Also cf. Fukasawa Kiichi 深沢喜一, *Nishijima no Konjaku* 西島の今昔 (Minobu: Minobu-chō 身延町, 1970), 107.

¹⁰ Hokushin Ittō-ryū is the style of swordsmanship taught by Chiba Shūsaku 千葉周作 (1794-1855). Although Shūsaku has no familial ties with Chiba Chōsaku's father Genjirō, the latter studied under Shūsaku (dates and details of apprenticeship unknown) according to Seitarō Kitamura, "Bakumatsu kara Shōwa ni kakete katsuyaku shita kyōdo no kengō: Chiba Chōsaku." 「幕末から昭和にかけて活躍した郷土の剣豪千葉(地場)長作,」 318. (See the detail on 烽火台址.)

Chōsaku witnessed the parts of the civil war of 1868-69 between imperial legalist forces and the proponents of the Tokugawa regime.¹¹

In his autobiography, Chōsaku traces his ancestry back to Ōshio Sakyōnosuke 大塩左京之介,¹² founder and head of Ōshio village, and vassal of Takeda Shingen 武田信玄 (1521-73). Sakyōnosuke, apart from having his duties as a village head, ordered the construction and maintenance of several archery and equestrian ranges in his area. He also founded a “temple school” (*terakoya* 寺子屋) and taught there. Sakyōnosuke also forged a new family name for himself: Chiba 地場, using the characters *chi* 地 from 地中 (“on the land”) and *ba* 場 from 矢場 (“archery range”).¹³ In the Tokugawa era, Chōsaku’s ancestors were classified as peasants. They continued to act as Ōshio village heads until Meiji Restoration. They also managed to maintain their affinity toward martial arts practice. As such, Chiba family example among other similar cases shows that “Japanese martial arts” cannot really be classified exclusively as a samurai legacy.

¹¹ Boshin War (*Boshin Sensō* 戊辰戦争; 1868-9). The battle of Kōshū-Katsunuma 甲州勝沼の戦い took place on March 28, 1868. The imperial legalist force consisted of the armies of Satsuma 薩摩, Chōshū 長州 and Tosa 土佐. The leader of Shinsengumi 新撰組, Kondō Isami 近藤勇 (1834-1868), headed the shogunal troops trying to recapture Kōfu Castle. They were outnumbered and defeated. Cf. Romulus Hillsborough, *Shinsengumi: The Shogun's Last Samurai Corps* (North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 2005), 148-51.

¹² A recent reprint of Chōsaku’s martial training journey, *Budō keireki ippan* 武道経歴一斑 spells “Sakyōnosuke” as 左京之助. Cf. Masaaki Imafuku 今福真明, “Chiba Chōsaku 千葉長作,” in *Yamanashi-ken Kendōshi* 山梨県剣道史, ed. Yamanashi Prefecture Kendo Federation (Kōfu: Yamanashi Kendō Renmei 山梨剣道連盟, 1977), 72.

¹³ 千葉家の経歴と生立 (p.1) in Chōsaku Chiba 千葉長作, *Budō Hiroku Jiri Kuden Kannen Sho* 武道秘録事理口伝觀念書 (Nihon Budōkai 日本武道会, 1928).

1.2.2. Budō pilgrimage

The biographical sources give no details concerning Chōsaku's primary education, or when he started his practice of swordsmanship. Most likely he received some basic education in *kana* syllabary and Chinese classics at the village school founded by his ancestor. Chōsaku does report, however, that at the age of 13 (in 1873), he set out on a "martial training journey" (J. *musha shūgyō* 武者修行) that took him five years to complete.¹⁴ Since a certain degree of technical mastery in a martial art is one of the prerequisites for *musha shūgyō*, he must have begun his study of martial arts at least three years prior to his journey (quite likely in early childhood). *Musha shūgyō* was not uncommon in the latter half of the nineteenth century even after the abolition of the samurai class in 1876.¹⁵ Chōsaku left his native Ōshio, following the ancient Kōshū route into Shizuoka Prefecture. There he visited several fencing schools (J. *kenjutsu dōjō* 剣術道場) and tried his skill in numerous contests. Over the next four years, he traveled across the country, visiting the Kansai area, Shikoku, Chūgoku, and Kyūshū. Honing his skill alongside many of the master swordsmen of his time, Chōsaku surely would have noted the close relationship between martial arts practice and politics. Fencing schools were vibrant sites of political activity for the low ranking and masterless samurai who styled themselves as "men of high purpose" (J. *shishi* 志士).¹⁶ Most of these men were not highly educated. They acquired their knowledge as they traveled, picking up such sources as Rai San'yō's

¹⁴ Ibid. 武道経歴一班 (There are no page numbers in this edition.) reprinted in Imafuku, "Chiba Chōsaku 千葉長作," 72-5. (This source shows slight variations in the beginning of the text.)

¹⁵ Ushio Shimokawa 下川潮, *Kendō no Hattatsu* 剣道の発達 (Tokyo: Daiichi Shobō 第一書房, 1984), 264.

¹⁶ Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), 327. By the end of the Edo period, not only samurai frequented fencing schools, but also peasants, merchants and others with aspiration toward martial learning. Not all of these men embraced imperial loyalism – Kondō Isami being one notable example. He was a peasant recruited by the bakufu in one of such schools to fight loyalists on the streets of Kyoto. Hillsborough (2005).

Nihongaishi 日本外史(Unofficial History of Japan; 1827),¹⁷ a popular history of Japan written from the perspective of Confucian loyalism, and writings of Yoshida Shōin 吉田 松陰 (1830-59), among other mainly Confucian sources that formed the basis for ideology of these self-made men.

As Tsurumi Shunsuke noted, “[a]mong those samurai who participated in the anti-Tokugawa movement, there developed the tacit agreement that once they had crossed the border of the fief to which they belonged they would treat one another as equals.”¹⁸ Thus, *displacement* and relative equality marked the beginning of the new era brought about by the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Although the new government did not bear prejudice against those who fought on the losing side of the shogun, most higher posts, civil and military, were made available for the samurai of Satsuma, Chōshū and Tosa domains. The new government sought to modernize the country by adopting Western industrial and military technologies, and by sending young and promising men abroad for study.

In 1876, when the fifteen-year-old Chōsaku was on the third year of his journey, conditions of the former samurai class underwent radical changes: their stipends were exchanged for bonds and were practically abolished; wearing swords in public was prohibited; and school children and military personnel were required to cut their top-knots. Next year saw the last samurai revolt, the Satsuma Rebellion led by Saigō Takamori 西郷 隆盛 (1827-77).¹⁹ The rebellion was crushed by the modernized imperial army, which

¹⁷ Rai San'yō (1780-1832), Confucian thinker, historian, poet and artist influenced by doctrines of Wang Yangming and Chinese imperial historiography. Cf. Burton Watson, *Japanese Literature in Chinese. Poetry and Prose in Chinese by Japanese Writers of the Later Period*. 2 (New York, NY: Columbia Univ. Pr., 1976), 122 ff. Also see Jansen, *The Cambridge History of Japan Volume 5, the Nineteenth Century*, 320-5.

¹⁸ Shunsuke Tsurumi, *An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan, 1931-1945* (London; New York: KPI : Distributed by Routledge & K. Paul, 1986), 5.

¹⁹ Jansen, *The Cambridge History of Japan Volume 5, the Nineteenth Century*, 392-3.

consisted of conscripts of various backgrounds. The era of sword-bearing warriors came to an end. This course of events must have made a deep impression upon youths dedicated to practice of swordsmanship. Quite abruptly, in the early Meiji period, whose cultural slogan was formulated as “civilization and enlightenment” (J. *bunmei kaika* 文明開化), which was tantamount to “westernization,” the practice of martial arts became more and more unpopular among all tiers of the society, with the exception of a minority of conservative former samurai, a group, to which Chōsaku belonged.

It is quite significant that Kumamoto was the last point of Chōsaku’s travels. Although he was not there at the time of the Satsuma Rebellion, when he arrived a year later, Chōsaku had plenty to see and hear from the survivors of the event. He stayed there as a guest of his father’s friend – Tomioka Keimei 富岡敬明 (1822-1909),²⁰ who was then the mayor (県令) of Kumamoto – practicing diligently in order to challenge a master of Yagyū-ryū, a certain Yamamoto 山本 (dates/given name unknown). At that time Chōsaku reports a revelation into his swordsmanship techniques, which allowed him to win a match against the mighty opponent. Satisfied with the result, he decided to return to his native village at age eighteen. When he had set out on his journey, he was, in his words, “a clueless boy, whose universe was as big as a canvas bag.”²¹ When he returned home five years later, the canvas bag must have become too small for him, for not long after he embarked on another journey, this time to the East, to Tokyo, where he met Yamaoka Tesshū 山岡鉄舟(1836-88), a famous swordsman, calligrapher, Zen adept, incorrigible drunk and womanizer, and a trusted companion of Meiji Emperor.

²⁰ Nichigai Associates. "Japanknowledge Plus." <http://www.jkn21.com> (NetAdvance Inc, 2009). 「富岡敬明」 entry. Accessed on Feb. 18, 2009; Imafuku, "Chiba Chōsaku 千葉長作," 73-4.

²¹ Imafuku, "Chiba Chōsaku 千葉長作," 72.

1.2.3 Going to the capital

In addition to their decline in popularity due to changing trends, two other major factors aggravated the situation of professional martial artists: (1) the new conscription-based military system modeled upon French and German armies and British navy,²² and (2) the new education system built upon the Western higher education models. Neither saw any need for traditional Japanese martial arts training.

The Conscription Act of 1873 made all twenty-year-old males liable for military service. Each conscript was to spend three years in the regular army and four years in the reserves, for a total of seven years of service. Chiba Chōsaku reached the draft age in 1881. Instead of enlisting in the army or pursuing formal academic learning, however, he traveled to Tokyo to enter the dojo of Yamaoka Tesshū 山岡鉄舟 where he broadened his skills in swordsmanship. For the following seven years, Chōsaku studied Tesshū's style *Mutō-ryū* 無刀流 (lit. "the style of no-sword").

For Tesshū, the practice of swordsmanship accorded with Rinzai Zen. In 1880, after several years of ceaseless pondering on a koan,²³ Yamaoka Tesshū claimed to have attained enlightenment one morning while sitting in *zazen* 座禅. Shortly thereafter he opened a dojo named Shunpukan 春風館, where he started teaching his new style, *Mutō-ryū*, which drew on several *Ittō-ryū* styles he had learned in the past.²⁴ In his dojo, Tesshū expected every

²² Edwin Palmer Hoyt, *Three Military Leaders : Heihachiro Togo, Isoroku Yamamoto, Tomoyuki Yamashita*, Kodansha Biographies (Tokyo; New York: Kodansha International, 1993), 11, 14.

²³ A koan from Dongshan Liangjie's (J. Tōzan Ryōkai 洞山良价; 807-869) Five Ranks (J. *goi* 五位). Stevens translates this koan as follows: "When two flashing swords meet there is no place to escape; move on coolly, like a lotus flower blooming in the midst of a roaring fire, and forcefully pierce the Heavens!" Cf. John Stevens, *The Sword of No-Sword : Life of the Master Warrior Tesshu* (Boston: Shambhala, 1994), 18.

²⁴ The full name of Tesshū's style is *Ittō Shōden Mutō-ryū* 一刀正伝無刀流. Ibid., 19. All *Ittō-ryū* styles consider Itō Ittōsai 伊東一刀斎 (1560?-1628?) as the originator of their style. Generally speaking, despite different approaches, most *Ittō-ryū* styles, *Mutō-ryū* and *Hokushin Ittōryū* (that Chōsaku learnt from his father) are no exception, have a similar arsenal of techniques and are easily blended. Contemporary kendo

one of his students to adhere to an austere training regime based on the *uchikomi-geiko* 打ち稽古, a series of continuous attacks that test one's endurance. When one undergoes this sort of training, apart from physical exhaustion, one cannot help experiencing a sort of self-abandon, in which analytical thinking is practically absent. This state of spontaneous unself-conscious action, variously called as *wu-wei* (J. *mui* 無為), *wu-xin* (J. *mushin* 無心), *wu-wo* (J. *muga* 無我), was the goal of martial training for Tesshū and his Ittō-ryū predecessors. A new student was expected to pursue uchikomi-oriented training for the first three years in the dojo. Tesshū frequently required his trainees to engage in multiple matches in one day, and sometimes for several days in a row. This sort of training not only augmented the uchikomi effects of self-abandon, but it also gave participants an opportunity to conquer the fear of contest and to stop thinking about victory or defeat altogether, learning instead to undertake training for the sake of training.²⁵

The twenty-year-old Chiba Chōsaku found himself immersed in such an environment as soon as he stepped into Tesshū's dojo. His name does not appear among Tesshū's most prominent students, for he was but one of some four hundred who enrolled in the dojo within the last eight years of Tesshū's life.²⁶

Throughout his life, Tesshū gained renown for achievements beyond swordsmanship. During the early Meiji period, in 1872, Tesshū was appointed to the

kata can serve as a good example of such synthesis. Many Ittō-ryū styles, again Mutō-ryū is not an exemption here, have a Zen flavor to their teachings, which is traditionally considered to be due to the interaction between the second master of Ittō-ryū, Ono Tadaaki 小野忠明 (1565-1628) and Takuan Sōhō 沢庵宗彭 (1573-1645), a famous Zen priest. G. Cameron Hurst, *Armed Martial Arts of Japan : Swordsmanship and Archery* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 50. The facility with which new styles proliferated is a solid proof against a simplistic view that distinguishes so-called "traditional" martial arts 流派 from the modern m.a. such as judo, kendo, etc., on the basis of an alleged "pure transmission" that supposedly does not take place in modern m.a.

²⁵ Stevens, *The Sword of No-Sword: Life of the Master Warrior Tesshu*, 22-8.

²⁶ The total number of students at the Shunpukan. Ibid., 18.

Imperial Household.²⁷ There he was mostly remembered as Meiji Emperor's drinking companion and sumo opponent.²⁸ Interestingly enough, despite his proximity to the emperor (or perhaps due to it), Tesshū's thinking does not show signs of idealizing imperial institution that was gaining momentum in the Meiji period. Tesshū rarely ever spoke of bushidō, and when he did, he maintained that his bushidō is Buddhism.²⁹

In contrast with Tesshū, Chōsaku's bushidō writings do not place emphasis on Buddhism, which is remarkable given his long period of study under Tesshū. Nonetheless, it may be that his awareness of his teacher's relationship to the Imperial Household spurred Chōsaku to adhere to the imperial cause in his own way, which becomes more pronounced later in his career.

1.2.4. Life as a martial arts instructor

After Tesshū's death in 1888, Chōsaku returned to his native region, settling in the town of Kōfu. There he opened his first martial arts dojo, Jūsōkyōgekikan 銃槍共撃館.³⁰

The inauguration ceremony (*J. jōtōshiki* 上棟式) took place on August 21, 1890.³¹ This

²⁷ Ibid., 13.

²⁸ Cf. Chamberlain Takashima Tomonosuke's memoirs in William Theodore De Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, *Sources of Japanese Tradition. Volume 2, 1600 to 2000*, Introduction to Asian Civilizations (New York ; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2005), 691-3.

²⁹ Tesshū Yamaoka 山岡鉄舟 and Masato Abe 安部正人, *Bushidō* 武士道 (Tokyo: Kōyūkan 光融館, 1902), 10.

³⁰ The name is remarkable because literally it means: "The establishment for the double attack with guns and spears." One might only wonder why Chōsaku would give such a name to a swordsmanship school. There are no documents surviving to date that would shed light on the nature of this organization. Chōsaku only lists the title in his autobiography. Imafuku, "Chiba Chōsaku 千葉長作," 74. It is quite likely that already in this period he was establishing some connections with the Imperial Army. It is also probable that Chōsaku had to share the space with other enthusiasts of new martial arts such as *jūkenjutsu* 銃剣術 (bayonet handling) and *shagekijutsu* 射撃術 (marksmanship). For more information on these cf. Nakamura, Bennett, and ed., "Bujutsu & Budo: The Japanese Martial Arts 日本の武術・武道 (Bilingual Ed.)," 29,33.

³¹ Takuma Ishigami 石神卓馬, "Nazo no Imafuku Masaaki wa moto Shinchōgumi kenjutsu shihan datta 謎の今福真明はもと新徴組剣術師範だった," *Gekkan Kendō Nippon* 月刊剣道日本, no. February 2月 (1999): 103.

event marked the beginning of his life-long career as a professional martial arts instructor. During this time, many martial artists experimented with Western weaponry such as guns, sabers, and bayonets in an effort to survive in the midst of Westernization. Many were annoyed by the fact that neither the military nor the academy viewed martial arts training as an effective means to train for combat or to pursue the new ideals of physical education.

There was one man, however, who is credited with changing almost single-handedly the prevalent views of the martial arts: Kanō Jigorō 嘉納治五郎 (1860-1938). Of the same generation as Chōsaku, Kanō Jigorō was not, however, of the samurai class. Yet he aspired to martial arts practice early in his youth. Unlike Chōsaku, Kanō was well educated in the new system, with knowledge of English as well as Classical Chinese, and a good grasp of Western philosophy (especially that of Spencer). Interested in unarmed combat (jujutsu), Kanō created a synthetic style that he called *jūdō* 柔道 in the early 1880s. Such a neologism is a prime example of the reevaluation of old terms and the generation of new meanings, typical of the Meiji period. The character *dō* 道 can be translated into English as “the way.” In Chinese philosophy, the term carried a range of cosmological connotations, referring to the way of the universe and that of cultured humanity. With Kanō Jigorō, the term took on new connotations. In the Meiji period, the term *dōtoku* 道徳 (lit. “the virtue of the way”) came to refer to “morality” and “ethics” in the Western sense. Kanō thus grounded his judo in the philosophy implicit in Victorian physical education theories.³² Kanō made a speech in 1889 titled “Judo Training in terms of Education Values” 「柔道一班並に其教育上の価値」 at the Japanese Imperial Education Meeting 大日本教

³² See David Waterhouse, “Kano Jigoro and the Beginnings of the Judo Movement,” *Toronto, Symposium* (1982) for further discussion.

育会 calling on Spencerian ideas about intellectual, moral, and physical education in order to associate the practice of martial arts with the ideas of physical education 体育, competitiveness 勝負, and moral self-cultivation 修心. Such a formulation of martial arts prepared the way for the entry of martial arts into academic and military curricula over the next three decades.³³ Building on Kanō's efforts, martial artists began to use *-dō* as a suffix for martial arts, to underscore educational and spiritual values to be gained through such practices. In some respects, such attributions are in keeping with classical texts (both in China and in Japan) that established connections between martial arts practice and its effects upon the body and spirit. What was new was the impulse to enclose older forms of knowledge within a modern framework that compartmentalized their effects in terms of categories drawn from Western science and philosophy.³⁴ The term *budō* 武道 thus gained currency in referring to the new *-dō*s collectively.³⁵

Such was the climate in the martial arts circles when Chiba Chōsaku embarked on his career as a professional martial artist. After eight years of managing a dojo in his native area, he decided to move closer to the capital. He established Nihon Kōbukai 日本講武会 in downtown Yokohama in 1897³⁶ prompted by his ambition to promote martial arts to a larger audience.³⁷ After Chōsaku's move, his former dojo in Kofu was replaced in 1899 by a branch of Dai Nippon Butokukai 大日本武徳会 (or simply Butokukai), a newly founded

³³ Nakamura, Bennett, and ed., "Bujutsu & Budo: The Japanese Martial Arts 日本の武術・武道 (Bilingual Ed.)," 29.

³⁴ On the dynamics of modernization of the Japanese language see Robert S. Ramsey, "The Japanese Language and the Making of Tradition," *Japanese Language and Literature* 38 (2004).

³⁵ Inoue, *Budō no Tanjō* 武道の誕生, 2-3.

³⁶ The date is obtained from *Nihon Budōkai no shushi to keireki* 日本武道会の趣旨と経歴, p.2 in Chiba, *Budō Hiroku Jiri Kuden Kannen Sho* 武道秘録事理口伝觀念書.

³⁷ 横浜本町一丁目. Imafuku, "Chiba Chōsaku 千葉長作," 74.

organization (1895) with headquarters in Kyoto that was rapidly expanding nationwide.³⁸ Japan's victory over China in Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) marked the end of the Sinocentric worldview (at least for the majority of Japan's population) and spurred the tendency to break with classical forms of education and pre-modern practices. Under these circumstances, martial arts professionals felt hard-pressed to find ways of perpetuating their vocation within modern institutions. Butokukai achieved a great deal of success in introducing kendo to police throughout the country.

In 1902 Chōsaku moved to Nihonbashi in Tokyo, founding the Central Imperial Establishment for Martial Education (J. *Teikoku Chūō Buikukan* 帝国中央武育館), and subsequently moving Nihon Kōbukai³⁹ to Ushigome in Tokyo.⁴⁰ In manner analogous to Butokukai's movement into police institutions, Chōsaku's organization targeted the military establishment. Chōsaku's involvement with the Imperial Army becomes apparent around the time of Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). Although he does not mention any details of his life apart from his management of the above-mentioned dojos, records of the Imperial Ministry of Defense report that he was drafted into the Navy as a sailor and wounded on July 26, 1904.⁴¹ It remains unclear why he was drafted despite his advanced age of 43. In any event, just before the end of the war, Chōsaku conceived of a unique way to contribute to the country's cause as well as to make a sizeable profit: designing a bullet-

³⁸ Ishigami, "Nazo no Imafuku Masaaki wa Moto Shinchōgumi Kenjutsu Shihan Datta 謎の今福真明はもと新徴組剣術師範だった," 104.

³⁹ Nihon Kōbukai became a satellite organization and functioned separately from Chōsaku's dojo. After the Russo-Japanese War it was under the aegis of the Imperial Army. Cf. National Archives of Japan, "Japan Center for Asian Historical Records," (<http://www.jacar.go.jp/>, 2009). Reference code: C04014227700. Accessed on August 12, 2009.

⁴⁰ 牛込区新小川町. Imafuku, "Chiba Chōsaku 千葉長作," 74.

⁴¹ 「極秘 明治 38-9 年海戦史 第 1 部 戦紀 卷 8-9 付表及付図」第 28 号 海軍陸戦重砲隊死傷人名表, and 各中隊戦闘記事大要; 明治 37, 戦闘記事摘要郭家溝第 4 中隊(2) in Japan, "Japan Center for Asian Historical Records." Reference code: C05110064800 and C09050604900. Accessed on August 20, 2009.

proof vest (J *bōdangu* 防弾具).⁴² The design followed from his martial arts practice in a sense that protective equipment is frequently used for swordsmanship practice (J. *bōgu* 防具), and Chōsaku extended the idea to modern firearms.⁴³ Regardless of the ultimate utility of the invention, Chōsaku made an important connection in high military ranks, namely with General Terauchi Masatake 寺内正毅 (1852-1919), an influential figure in colonial governance who later served as prime-minister (1916-18).⁴⁴

As for his martial arts career, Chōsaku founded in 1907 Dai Nippon Budōkai 大日本武道会 (Budō Society of the Empire of Japan)⁴⁵ together with Lt. Gen. Yabuki Hidekazu⁴⁶ in Hongō, Tokyo.⁴⁷ The following year he obtained a record of transmission from Yamaoka Tesshū's son, Naoki 山岡直記 (1865-1927), in which the latter acknowledged Chōsaku's achievements as Tesshū's former student and congratulated him on founding the Society. It was also in 1908 that Chōsaku published his first book, a manual of kendo and *naginata* 薙刀 (a type of halberd).⁴⁸ In 1910 he moved Dai Nippon Budōkai to its final location in Koishikawa, Tokyo, where he would spend the rest of his

⁴² 防衛省防衛研究所, 陸軍省大日記, 壺大日記, 明治 42 年 12 月 「壺大日記」防弾具審査の件, 9 in Ibid. Also cf. Chiba, *Budō Hiroku Jiri Kuden Kannen Sho* 武道秘録事理口伝觀念書. Prefatory Matter, xii.

⁴³ I was unable to locate a sample of Chōsaku's vest. The available documentation is scarce. Imafuku states that Chōsaku was able to raise a sizeable profit under Gen. Terauchi's auspices in Taiwan. There are reasons to believe that the invention was of doubtful efficacy since the same source states that around the same time a sample of the vest was sent to the United States by a certain Leut. バンコフオルトレーン (dates/original name spelling unknown) to be placed in a museum. Imafuku, "Chiba Chōsaku 千葉長作," 71.

⁴⁴ Kunihiko Shimonaka 下中邦彦, ed., *Nihon Jinmei Daijiten* 日本人名大事典 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1979), Vol. 4, 338-9.

⁴⁵ Changed into Nippon Budōkai ca. 1916.

⁴⁶ Yabuki Hidekazu (or Shūichi) 矢吹秀一 (1853-1909), lieutenant general of the Imperial Army, veteran of the Sino-Japanese War, in-country service during Russo-Japanese War, baron 男爵. Toward the end of his life he also established a life insurance company, Fuji Seimei Hoken 富士生命保険 (est. 1907). Shimonaka, ed., *Nihon Jinmei Daijiten* 日本人名大事典, Vol. 6, 309-10.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Vol. 4, 255. The exact location then was 東京市本郷区東竹町 26 番地.

⁴⁸ Chosaku Chiba 千葉長作, *Nihon Budō Kyōhan* 日本武道教範 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan 博文館, 1908).

life teaching and writing.⁴⁹ There, in 1911, he authored his second book, *Moral Instruction in Budō*, transliterated and translated in its entirety in this thesis.⁵⁰

In 1913 Chōsaku enhanced his martial arts pedigree, obtaining a Record of Authentication 譲渡状 from Chiba Shūsaku's son, Chiba Tōichi 千葉東一,⁵¹ in which Tōichi named him successor to Shūsaku's teachings. This acknowledgement enabled Chōsaku to inherit the style he had learned early in life.⁵²

Chiba Chōsaku's achievements also included the promotion of competitions. Throughout his life he sustained the emphasis on matches that began during his martial training journey. Among Chōsaku's most noted achievements is his organization and participation in biannual kendo meets at Yasukuni Shrine 靖国神社,⁵³ held as an act of worship of the war dead (奉納試合). After the Russo-Japanese War, Admiral Tōgō Heihachirō presided over a commemoration ceremony at Yasukuni Shrine in which he commended Chōsaku's achievements. Later, on a similar occasion, Chōsaku made the acquaintance of General Oku Yasukata 奥保鞏 (1847-1930). Thus Chōsaku made acquaintances in highest military ranks of Meiji-Taisho Japan.⁵⁴ From the time of his move to Tokyo until his death on January 5, 1935, Chōsaku organized the event seventy times.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ The complete address is 東京市小石川区武島町 22 番地. Imafuku, "Chiba Chōsaku 千葉長作," 74-5.

⁵⁰ *Būdō Kyōkun* 武道教訓. I shall discuss Chōsaku's writing in more detail in the next chapter.

⁵¹ Also known as Chiba Tōichirō (dates unknown), Shūsaku's second son; cf. Tamio Nakamura 中村民雄, *Kendo Jiten : Gijutsu to Bunka No Rekishi* 剣道事典 : 技術と文化の歴史 (Tokyo: Shimazu Shobo 島津書房, 1994), 376.

⁵² Both the record of transmission from Yamaoka Naoki and the record of authentication from Chiba Tōichi are reprinted in Chiba, *Budō Hiroku Jiri Kuden Kannen Sho* 武道秘録事理口伝觀念書, xii.

⁵³ Founded in 1869 to enshrine the spirits of the fallen soldiers after the Meiji Restoration, the shrine functions to date as a sanctuary where the war dead of the later periods are enshrined as well. Firmly based on the State Shinto ideology it became a controversial site after WWII.

⁵⁴ "Nihon Budōkai no shushi to keireki" 「日本武道会の趣旨と経歴」 p.2, in Chiba, *Budō Hiroku Jiri Kuden Kannen Sho* 武道秘録事理口伝觀念書.

⁵⁵ Shimonaka, ed., *Nihon Jinmei Daijiten* 日本人名大事典, Vol.4, 255.

It is not a simple matter to discuss Chiba Chōsaku's legacy. Sources make no mention about his spouse or descendants.⁵⁶ One of Chōsaku's later publications mentions such names as Kobayashi Kōichi 小林孝一 (Waseda University graduate and attorney), Kobayashi Hamasaburō 小林濱三郎 (Yokohama Police Instructor), and Hosoi Jusaku 細井寿作, who served as instructors in Chōsaku's Nippon Budōkai founded around 1928.⁵⁷ A source from 1936 mentions Murakami Hidetoji 村上秀刀自 of Nippon Būdokai, a naginata instructor, as a participant in a martial arts show.⁵⁸ After Chōsaku's death, Nippon Budōkai continued to exist through efforts of his disciples. However, the dojo did not survive the post-WWII GHQ ban on martial arts,⁵⁹ and was never reopened. Even during Chōsaku's lifetime, the Kyoto-based Butokukai outstripped other martial arts organizations, setting the standard for budō in the prewar era. Chōsaku's Nippon Budōkai was a relatively small organization, albeit well-connected. Chiba Chōsaku nonetheless remains an important figure in the early twentieth century martial arts discourses, a forerunner of "modern bushidō" ideology centered on the Emperor System (J. *tennōsei* 天皇制). His writings are notable for their insistence that modern bushidō can best be implemented by martial arts practice.

⁵⁶ Chōsaku had a brother, Chiba Tōsaku 地場藤作 who had a son, Midaisaku 美代作. Midaisaku had a son, Teru 輝 and a daughter, Sei せい (married to Mochizuki Yūichi 望月祐市). Dates unknown. Fukasawa Kiichi, *Nishijima no Konjaku* 西島の今昔, 107. Chōsaku was buried in a personal grave on Tama Cemetery grounds (多摩霊園 11 区 1 種 7 側 41 番); the grave is not familial, and no records indicate his grave-keepers. Cf. Tama Reien website, http://www6.plala.or.jp/guti/cemetery/PERSON/T/chiba_c.html accessed on December 26, 2008. According to a rumor that I heard in his native Ōshio on the project field trip (June 13, 2009) from a person who preferred to stay incognito, Chōsaku once married a naginata instructor, but was divorced. No documents support this claim and should be treated accordingly.

⁵⁷ Chiba, *Budō Hiroku Jiri Kuden Kannen Sho* 武道秘録事理口伝觀念書, xiii-xiv. No further biographical data is currently available on these individuals.

⁵⁸ Asahi Shimbun 朝日新聞, "Kobudō ni sakaru aki." 「古武道に盛る秋」, *Asahi Shimbun* 朝日新聞, Morning, October 22, 1936, 12.

⁵⁹ The ban on kendo was enforced until 1953. Nakamura, Bennett, and ed., "Bujutsu & Budo: The Japanese Martial Arts 日本の武術・武道 (Bilingual Ed.)," 30.

1.3 Chiba Chōsaku's writings

I have thus far offered an outline of Chiba Chōsaku's life with an emphasis on the events surrounding his budō career. I will now turn to his writings with an emphasis on their ideological agenda.

1.3.1. *Japanese Budō Manual* (*Nihon Budō Kyōhan* 日本武道教範; 1908)⁶⁰

Kyōhan is Chiba Chōsaku's first book. A close examination of the book's format reveals that it was modeled upon an earlier publication by Kumamoto Jitsudō⁶¹ with an almost identical title, *Budō Kyōhan* 武道教範 (1895).⁶² The prefatory matter contains calligraphy by two of Chiba's⁶³ influential military patrons, General Ōyama Iwao and Admiral Tōgō Heihachirō⁶⁴ (i-vi). Lieutenant General Yabuki Hidekazu, co-founder of Dai Nippon Budōkai, provided a preface written in classical Chinese.

⁶⁰ A digital copy of the original publication is now available online in a downloadable format on the website of Japan's National Diet Library 国会図書館 at "Kindai Dejitaru Raiburari" 近代デジタルライブラリー Database. <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/index.html>. Accessed on January 5, 2009.

⁶¹ There could not possibly be a better model for self-educated Chiba Chōsaku than Kumamoto Jitsudō 隈元実道 (1850-?), who also started learning swordsmanship (直心影流) from his father, and later also studied under Yamaoka Tesshū. He opened a dojo in Tokyo which was visited by the Prince Imperial (future Taishō Emperor) in 1892. To commemorate this event, Kumano named his style Shinki-ryū 振気流 (lit. "rising spirit school"). He wrote his first book, *Budō Kyōhan* during the Sino-Japanese War, when he was drafted to serve in Taiwan (military police captain). In this book he experimented with modern Western concepts of physical education and synthesized his own styles of swordsmanship (esp. short sword 短刀) and jujutsu. Unlike Jigoro Kano, Kumamoto conceptualized his style to be combat-oriented. Watanabe, ed., *Shiryō Meiji Budō Shi* 史料明治武道史, 245.

⁶² The first edition of Kumamoto's *Budō Kyōhan* came out in 1894 in small circulation. The second edition was much more readily available. Chōsaku used the 2nd ed. as a model. Cf. pp. vii-ix for Gen. Ōyama's calligraphy. Also consider the format of the prefatory poems. Both editions as well as two other of his publications are available in their entirety at "Kindai Dejitaru Raiburari." Accessed on June 10, 2009.

⁶³ When I refer to Chiba Chōsaku as an author I write "Chiba" to follow the academic convention. In the biographical essay I use "Chōsaku" to avoid confusion with other people who had the same family name.

⁶⁴ Gen. Ōyama Iwao 大山巖 (1842-1916), a key figure in the Imperial Army of the Meiji Period, field marshal, genrō, army minister in the first modern cabinet of 1885. He had posts in the supreme command during both Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War. Kōichi Yumoto 湯本豪一, ed., *Zusetsu Meiji Jinbutsu Jiten : Seijika, Gunjin, Genronjin*. 図説明治人物事典 : 政治家・軍人・言論人 (Tokyo: Nichigai Asoshietsu : Hatsubaimoto Kinokuniya Shoten 日外アソシエーツ : 発売元 紀伊國屋書店, 2000), 114-17. Admiral Tōgō Heihachirō 東郷平八郎 (1848-1934), with whom Chōsaku was acquainted via Yasukuni

The first part of the manual, “Bushidō” (3-38) is very similar to the content of the second book, which I translate and discuss below. There is thus no need to treat it here separately. Yet I should note that, compared to the second book, the contents of first are more emotional in their praise of uniqueness of Japanese nation (and the imperial heritage figures prominently), and therefore less structured. The presentation style is rather sporadic and repetitive. This suggests that Chiba had yet to mature as a writer.

The first book includes an illustrated and charted explanation of the *Shiranami Kata* 白波 形,⁶⁵ which does not appear in the second book. In the illustrations, one of the opponents or “the guest” 客 (pictured as a male) is using a curved Japanese sword, while the other “the host” 主 (pictured as a female) is using a naginata. The illustrations are significantly modern in that both the male and the female are wearing similar uniforms: the female is wearing a *hakama* 袴, with a patterned upper garment. The explanation of this kata runs over one hundred pages (58-168), and is very detailed compared to that of the two “kendo kata” (52-7).⁶⁶ This kata appears to be the focal point of this book. The author explains it thus: “Although it can be said that it contains all styles [of swordsmanship and naginata], the way in which the Shiranami form is performed is special because both men and women can practice it together. Therefore I illustrate and explain it in detail for the sake of young male and female trainees.”⁶⁷ As the rhetoric of the author’s presentation attests, his primary purpose was to address the needs of martial arts education for boys and

Shrine events, was educated in naval science in Great Britain. A hero of Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, he achieved his greatest distinction for winning the Battle of Tsushima (May 27-8, 1905). Later in life he was appointed a tutor to Crown Prince Hirohito. Yumoto, ed., *Zusetsu Meiji Jinbutsu Jiten : Seijika, Gunjin, Genronjin*. 図説明治人物事典：政治家・軍人・言論人, 406-9.

⁶⁵ Lit. “White Crest Form,” kata 形 refers to a series of choreographed and predetermined moves combined to imitate a combat situation. Kata contain an arsenal of major techniques of a martial arts style.

⁶⁶ Identical to the ones in the second book.

⁶⁷ Chiba, *Nihon Budō Kyōhan* 日本武道教範, 58.

girls. He envisioned a type of training that would be inclusive for all national subjects of Japan, whence the design of this kata.⁶⁸

1.3.2. *Moral Instruction in Budō* (*Budō Kyōkun* 武道教訓; 1911)⁶⁹

As the names on the cover attest, this book received the approval of a group of influential patrons, whose calligraphy and poetry appears in the prefatory matter. Calligraphy inserts by General Ōyama and Admiral Tōgō are identical to those of *Japanese Budō Manual*. A poem by Katano Tokitsumu, an elite poet and Shinto priest, follows.⁷⁰ Next appears a letter from General Terauchi Masatake, who had endorsed Chōsaku's bullet-proof vest project, followed by the calligraphy of Lieutenant General Hishijima Yoshiteru,⁷¹ the author of the book's preface. While it was common practice in the Meiji period to solicit calligraphy and poems from famous people, Chōsaku's choices are significant; his patrons are key state figures: military icons and a Shinto priest who served

⁶⁸ The other reason is speculative with respect to what is mentioned in n.52, i.e., there is an unconfirmed information that Chōsaku once married a naginata instructor. If this information checks out in the future as more documents turn up, then this relationship would be a likely factor for Chōsaku's choice. This would only confirm his assumption that martial arts should be practiced by all the subjects of the Family State.

⁶⁹ Chōsaku Chiba 千葉長作, *Budō Kyōkun* 武道教訓 (Tokyo: Hidaka Yūindō 日高有倫堂, 1911).

⁷⁰ Katano Tokitsumu 交野時万 (1832-1914) a.k.a. Taira-no Ason Tokitsumu 平朝臣時萬, senior second rank viscount. After the Meiji Restoration he founded the Bureau of Imperial Poetry 御歌所 attached to the Imperial Household Agency 宮内庁 in 1888 and also had the position of the head priest 大宮司 of Hikawa Shrine 氷川神社. Cf. Shimonaka, ed., *Nihon Jinmei Daijiten* 日本人名大事典, Vol. 2, 71. and Nichigai Associates, "Japanknowledge Plus," at <http://www.jkn21.com> (NetAdvance Inc, 2009). Accessed on January 13, 2009. As a poet he is known for his compilation of *Yamato Kashū*, which apart from his and his son's poems contains pieces written by many influential and famous people of that time incl. the last shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu. Tokitsumu Katano 交野時万, ed., *Yamato Kashū* 大和歌集 (Tokyo: Yamato Kashū Sho 大和歌集所, 1902).

⁷¹ Lieutenant General Hishijima Yoshiteru 比志島義輝 (1848- 1927) achieved distinction in the Sino-Japanese War (Taiwan) as well as in Russo-Japanese War (Yalu River district). A noted entrepreneur, he also headed the Imperial Society for Physical Education 大日本体育会 after the Russo Japanese War [hence the nature of his contact with Chiba Chōsaku.] Kamejirō Furubayashi 古林亀次郎, ed., *Meiji Jinmei Jiten* 明治人名辞典 (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentā 日本図書センター, 1987). For more information on the Imperial Society for Physical Education, see Yuji Nakamura, "Organizations and the Services of the National Physical Training Association," *Waseda Journal of Human Sciences* 6, no. 1 (1993). <http://dspace.wul.waseda.ac.jp/dspace/handle/2065/3877> Accessed on July 17, 2009.

as Imperial Household poet. Although he includes a photograph of his late master, Yamaoka Tesshū, Tesshū's legacy does not appear in this work. Chōsaku carefully establishes his mode of address and potential readers.⁷²

Chōsaku's principal thesis is that something not entirely right with Japan of his day: despite the economic progress people are “ideologically aloof” <3>;⁷³ they have abandoned traditional values and have adopted Western ideology instead. The result is laxity in their manners and an unwillingness to display “fighting spirit,” i.e., “martiality” (J. *bu* 武). This is the core problem for Chōsaku. In his opinion, fighting spirit is an intrinsic drive that causes all living beings to be active<12-13>. Only when this spirit is properly “rectified” does it become martiality, however. It takes on a personal as well as social quality, through which it secures a society's survival among its foes. According to Chōsaku, rectified martiality goes together with duty (J. *gi* 義), in the sense both of “righteousness” and of “relatedness” (personal and collective ties). Duty dictates the ultimate course of action for an individual and society, which extends to giving one's life in the process <13-14>.

Chōsaku thus turns to the matter of the nation and national subjects (J. *kokumin* 国民). For him, the goal is nothing less than the survival of a nation. He offers an account of the world history – his wording and lack of precision betray his sources, namely, newspapers and magazines of the late Meiji period – in an attempt to convince his reader that, if a nation loses its martiality and becomes morally lax and decadent, it will doubtlessly perish <14-20>.

⁷² Watanabe abridges *Budō Kyōkun* in his anthology omitting the prefatory matter, save the preface, entirely. The resulting version lacks the effect of the authoritative voice created by the author's manipulation of icons. Cf. Watanabe, ed., *Shiryō Meiji Budō Shi* 史料明治武道史, 701-19.

⁷³ I use angle brackets <> to indicate the pages in the original Japanese publication. I keep these intact both in the translation and in the transcription for the ease of reference.

Chōsaku also strives to position the Japanese nation within world history, quoting from an array of sources such as Meiji imperial edicts and ancient texts (*Kojiki*, *Nihongi*, *Man'yōshū*, etc.), and arranging them in such a manner as to “prove” the uniqueness of Japanese nation with respect to its character, history, and above all, its unbroken imperial line. Thus he stresses the emperor’s divinity and his role as father of the nation <14, 21, 38-46, 52-53>. Little of this is original to Chōsaku: he largely draws on the mass media of his time. Significantly, however, Chōsaku draws an equation between, on the one hand, court nobles (whose poetry he is fond of citing) and those clans that formed alliance to the Yamato clan, and on the other hand, to the Japanese nation < 23-26>. Chōsaku thus forges the pieces of Japanese history into a seamless whole.

Chōsaku finds “genuine” bushidō⁷⁴ in early days of the imperial court, in the era of *Kojiki*, *Nihongi* and *Man'yōshū*, before the rise of the Fujiwara regents in the 9th century. In this respect, Chōsaku’s history runs counter to that of the Christian bushidō ideologists of the Meiji period, such as Nitobe Inazo, Uemura Masahisa, and Uchimura Kanzo.⁷⁵ These Christian writers strove to invent a bushidō that appeared analogous to traditions of European chivalry. In bushidō, they sought a set of indigenous ethics unrelated to Confucianism and Buddhism. While it is not possible to deal with this subject at length here, suffice it to say that Nitobe, whose *Bushido* proved the most influential, was at a loss to find any substantial evidence for its “unwritten warrior code.” Nitobe and company drew

⁷⁴ I capitalize Bushidō, when it refers to Chiba’s views of the term, as in “Modern Bushidō.”

⁷⁵ Nitobe Inazō 新渡戸稲造(1862—1933), Uemura Masahisa 植村正久(1858—1925), and Uchimura Kanzō 内村鑑三(1861—1930) were all Christian converts. Their writings on bushidō are primarily motivated by the policy of no-compromise with Confucianism adopted by Protestant proselytizers in the East Asia in view of unsuccessful attempts of propagation based on syncretism of Christianity with local faiths attempted by Catholic ministers in the 16th century A.D. For an anthology of bushidō writings with the biographical data on and by these authors, cf. Shigeyoshi Matsumae, *Toward an Understanding of Budo Thought* (Tokyo, Japan: Tokai University Press, 1987), 5-105.

quotes from Confucian classics whose provenance they then deliberately obfuscated.⁷⁶ Yet it is maybe not so surprising that from the moment of its first publication and translation into Japanese, Nitobe's *Bushidō* became the most widely read book on bushidō, (and remains so to this day). It presented "bushidō" as a legacy equal and maybe even superior to European chivalry. It successfully constructed a bridge between medieval Europe and "medieval Japan."

In any event, Nitobe's book created a sort of "bushidō boom" in the early 1900s, and his book is first on the list of modern bushidō publications both in Watanabe's study of the Meiji sources⁷⁷ and in Sagara's study of pre-modern bushidō sources.⁷⁸ Nitobe's book was undoubtedly an important point of reference for Chōsaku in his efforts to write world history, hence Chōsaku's usage of the term "bushidō" to refer to Roman, Greek, and German military practices.

Nevertheless, unlike Nitobe, "modern bushidō" for Chōsaku goes beyond a theory of ethics. For Chōsaku bushidō is an everyday practice. It is not an intermittent manifestation of an abstract "samurai spirit" in times of war, but a day-to-day practice of martial arts under the premise of loyalty and due faith in the emperor and thus the nation <21-22>. It is a form of ritualized quasi-religious practice and also a form of ancestor worship <38>. Why does Chōsaku feel that this form of worship has to be actualized through martial arts practice? It is because bushidō is an effective antidote to destructive

⁷⁶ Inazō Nitobe's *Bushidō* was originally written in English. Cf. Inazō Nitobe, *Bushidō, the Soul of Japan : An Exposition of Japanese Thought* (Philadelphia: The Leeds & Biddle Co., 1900). It becomes obvious even to a reader not steeped in Confucianism that majority of his quotations when translated back into Japanese come from (Neo-) Confucian sources. See, for instance, a recent bilingual edition, Inazō Nitobe 新渡戸稲造 and Tokuhei Suchi 須知徳平, *Bushidō 武士道*, Kōdansha Bairingarū Bukkusū, 30. 講談社バイリンガルブックス 30 (Tokyo: Kōdansha Intānashonaru 講談社インターナショナル, 1998).

⁷⁷ Watanabe, ed., *Shiryō Meiji Budō Shi* 史料明治武道史, 885.

⁷⁸ Tōru Sagara 相良亨, ed., *Kōyō Gunkan, Gorinsho, Hagakure Shū* 甲陽軍鑑・五輪書・葉隠集, *Nihon no Shisō*, 9. 日本の思想 9 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1969), 426.

and decadent Western customs, which cause their adherents to become effeminate and to lose their martiality <34, 37; 106-7>.

On the one hand, Chōsaku submits that martial arts practice is a form of uninterrupted ancestral tradition, not in the sense of styles or schools (ryūha), but in the more fundamental sense of a hands-on physical experience that brings the practitioner closer to his “ancestors’ experiences.” In this respect Chōsaku seeks to convince his readers that the ancestors of the Japanese nation were all warriors, which argument is not in the least persuasive. Yet, in light of his definition of martiality as an inherent quality, actual ancestral lineages are beside the point. The duty of gratitude rectifies martiality. On the other hand, Chōsaku does not cast all modern practices in the negative light, as long as those can strengthen the nation without draining its resources; despite some ambivalence of his statements, he thus seems to allow for modern warfare <34-6>. Like many martial artists of his day, he sees martial arts training as an effective way to prepare those who would be soldiers <106-7>.

Chōsaku finds his own niche by advocating the value of martial arts practice within the family setting. He believes that budō is an effective tool for training a healthy body and fostering martiality in the minds of children, whom he calls “the second generation of national subjects” <46>. This form of subjection requires group participation. For Chiba, the dojo is a mold that promises to shape healthy and loyal servants of the nation ready to make sacrifices for its cause <102-4>. A dojo, a sacred place, also constitutes the model for an ideal Japanese state on a smaller scale. Chōsaku thus recommends the implementation of the dojo model in school education <50-2>. Chiba’s dream was soon realized. In 1911, the year of the publication of *Moral Instruction in Budō*, martial arts were approved as an

elective subject in secondary school curricula.⁷⁹ This move encouraged the standardization of kendo kata. In the section on kendo in *Moral Instruction* (Chapter 16), Chōsaku provides an explanation of two kata under the heading “Standard Kata”<93-8>. This section is in keeping with his effort to contribute to the standardization of kendo kata that began in the 1890s. Ultimately, in 1912, the kata selected by the Dai Nippon Butokukai became the countrywide standard.⁸⁰ Chōsaku’s selection was not among the chosen ten forms that are still practiced today (with modifications). Although Chiba was on the losing side of the kata standardization competition, he was not alone. Among the losers were the kata proposed by the *Tōkyō Kōtō Shihan Gakkō* 東京高等師範学校 (Kanō Jigorō was then the headmaster) in 1911.⁸¹ Chōsaku’s kata derive from Kumamoto Jitsudō’s Shinki Ryū system,⁸² and in this respect, *Moral Instruction in Budō* provides valuable information for kendo kata historians.

Chapter 15, “The Mysteries of Swordsmanship,” stands apart from the rest of book in style and content. Its style and expressions evoke Edo period language; the wording is extremely ambiguous and cryptic. Chiba makes no effort to explicate the nature of such stylistic variation. After consulting a rare copy of Chiba’s latest work, *Budō Hiroku Jiri Kuden Kannen Sho*⁸³ I discovered that this chapter was originally a separate text written in 1769, with the title *Itto-ryū Kenjutsu Jiri Kuden Kannen Sho* 一刀流秘録事理口伝觀念書

⁷⁹ Nakamura, Bennett, and ed., “Bujutsu & Budo: The Japanese Martial Arts 日本の武術・武道 (Bilingual Ed.),” 29, 43.

⁸⁰ Paul Budden, *Looking at a Far Mountain: A Study of Kendo Kata* (Boston: Tuttle Publishing, 2000), 11-12.

⁸¹ Budden, *Looking at a Far Mountain: A Study of Kendo Kata*, 11.

⁸² *Shinki-ryū kenpō hassō kata* 振気流剣法八相型 pp. 1-4 in Chiba, *Budō Hiroku Jiri Kuden Kannen Sho* 武道秘録事理口伝觀念書. In *Moral Instruction in Budō*, Chiba does not explain the provenance of the kata. The fact that he selected Shinki-ryū kata strengthens my argument that Kumamoto’s work was a model for Chiba.

⁸³ Chōsaku Chiba 千葉長作, *Budō Hiroku Jiri Kuden Kannen Sho* 武道秘録事理口伝觀念書 [*Itto-Ryū Kenjutsu Jiri Kuden Kannen Sho* 一刀流剣術事理口伝觀念書] (Nihon Budōkai 日本武道会, 1932). The volume I consulted is stored at Ritsumeikan University Library’s rare book collection. NASCIS Webcat: BN04663956.

by an unknown author.⁸⁴ Further examination revealed that this text indeed belongs to a cluster of Ittō-ryū texts from the Edo period.⁸⁵ It is a typical text in the sense that it blends an array of Neo-Confucian and Buddhist concepts with quotations from a diverse range of Classical Chinese texts, especially *Sunzi Bingfa* 孫子兵法⁸⁶ and *Yi Jing* 易經.⁸⁷ Yet through the cryptic language appear explanations of swordsmanship techniques. I render these explanations in the translation notes, where possible. The main thesis of this text, like that of other kenjutsu texts of the Edo period, is that the body has first to be trained in techniques and various combinations <82>. When the techniques become second nature (the text refers to this in Buddhist terms as “accumulation of merit”) <66>, the practitioner must abandon all technical knowledge and manifest spontaneous action <70>. The text also employs the logic of reverse instrumentalism, like that of the *Daodejing* 道德經, by which one has to abandon all notions of victory and defeat by achieving the state of samadhi-like mental equipoise in order to win <76>.

⁸⁴ The lineage of transmission transcribed in the text is as follows: “The Eight Tengu Bodhisattvas 八天狗菩薩: 1. Kanemaki Toda Michimune 鐘卷外他通宗 [a.k.a. Kanemaki Jisai 鐘捲自齋]; 2. Itō Ittōsai Kagehisa 伊藤一刀齋影久; 3. Kotōda Takeyusaemon, Constable Toshinao 古藤田勘解由左衛門 尉俊直; 4. Kotōda Niemon, Constable Toshishige 古藤田仁右衛門 尉俊直; 5. Kotōda Yahei, Constable Toshisada 古藤田弥兵衛 尉俊定; 6. ?? Rihei Constable Mitsumasa ? ? 理兵衛 尉光正[last name illegible]; 7. Nagai Tajirō Shōyō 長井太次郎 将陽; 8. Itō Gennai 伊藤源内. Transcribed on the 21st day of the 8th month, Meiwa 7.” Colophon. Ibid. The first five are well known masters of Ittō-ryū of the early and middle Tokugawa period, but the last three names are not yet identified. For more information on Ittōsai and his disciples cf. Hidemitsu Masuda 増田秀光, ed., *Kobudō no Hon : Hiden no Ōgi wo Kiwameta Tatsujintachi no Shingi* 古武道の本 : 秘伝の奥義を極めた達人たちの神技 (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha 学習研究社, 2002), 44-5.

⁸⁵ For the list of other related texts as well as a transcription with Modern Japanese translation (incl. a commentary) of one of these texts, cf. Ryūichi Tekeda 竹田隆一 and Naoshige Nagao 長尾直茂, “Ittōsai Sensei Kenpōshō’ Yakuchu oyobi Supōtsu Kyōikuteki Shiten kara no Kōsatsu.” 「「一刀齋先生剣法書」訳注及びスポーツ教育的視点からの考察」 *Bull. of Yamagata Univ., Educ. Sci.* 山形大学紀要 (教育科学) 13, no. 2, February (2003); ———, 13, no. 3, February (2004), and ———, 13, no. 4, February (2005).

⁸⁶ For an English translation of this text refer to Roger T. Ames, *Sun-Tzu: The Art of War* (NY: Ballantine Books, 1993).

⁸⁷ On the use of *Yi Jing* in the Edo period martial arts literature, see Wai-ming Ng, *The I Ching in Tokugawa Thought and Culture*, Asian Interactions and Comparisons (Honolulu, HI: Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawai’i Press, 2000), 168-80. Especially relevant is Ng’s discussion on Itō Ittōsai (pp. 177-8).

In sum, Chiba Chōsaku's text is ultimately a rather eclectic compilation. Its originality lies Chōsaku's attempt to re-imagine bushidō on basis of the emperor and ancestor worship as actualized by martial arts practice. While this idea may appear predictable in retrospect, it was indeed original in his day. In this respect, Chōsaku's text anticipated the militarist discourse in Japanese martial arts that became predominant during late 1930s until the end of WWII by more than two decades. Even more significantly, Chiba's work shows that the origins of this type of discourse are to be found in the idealism of individual martial artists like Chōsaku's and rather than in top-down state-implemented propaganda, as most contemporary kendo historians would have us believe.

1.3.3. Later works

Chiba Chōsaku's later works include *The Kendo Manual for the Japanese Nation* (*Kokumin Kendō Kyōhan* 国民剣道教範; 1916)⁸⁸ and two books bearing the same title, *The Secret Record of Concepts of the Oral Transmission on Form and Principle* (*Budō Hiroku Jiri Kuden Kannen Sho* 武道秘録事理口伝觀念書; 1928 and 1932).⁸⁹ *The Kendo Manual* is a combination of Chiba's first two works with few minor modifications. *The Secret Record* of 1928 contains Chiba Chōsaku's autobiography, a history of his ancestry, an outline of the *Nippon Budōkai*'s activities, and some other materials contained in Chiba's first three books. *The Secret Record* of 1932 is a reprint of *Ittoryū Kenjutsu Jiri*

⁸⁸ Chōsaku Chiba 千葉長作, *Kokumin Kendō Kyōhan* 国民剣道教範 (Tokyo: Tomitabun'yōdō 富田文陽堂, 1916). It was recently reprinted and edited by Yoshio Imamura 今村嘉雄, ed., *Kindai Kendō Meicho Taikei* 近代剣道名著大系 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha shuppan 同朋舎出版, 1985), 289-386.

⁸⁹ Chiba, *Budō Hiroku Jiri Kuden Kannen Sho* 武道秘録事理口伝觀念書. ———, *Saionji Bunko Copy* 西園寺文庫.

Kuden Kannen Sho 一刀流剣術事理口伝觀念書 (1769), which is the original source of Chapter 15 of *Moral Instruction*, as discussed above.

1.4. On the transcription and translation of *Moral Instruction in Budō*

1.4.1. Transcription

For the translation, I created a transcription of the original text of *Budō Kyōkun* (1911) from a copy of the first print in my private collection. As a book printed in the Meiji period, it did not require diplomatic transcription 翻刻.⁹⁰ Instead, adapting Imamura's method,⁹¹ I created a transliteration 校訂 using the following modifications:

1. Traditional characters 旧字 were rendered in modern characters 新字;
2. Historical kana usage 歴史的仮名遣 was substituted by contemporary use 現代仮名遣. Furigana 振り仮名 left only for terms uncommon today.
3. A period was inserted after each grammatical ending or 終止形.
4. Where necessary, preliminary annotations in Japanese were made.
5. Additional annotations inside the text are placed in square brackets [].
6. Page numbers from the original edition are placed in angled brackets < >.

The transliteration appears in Appendix 1.

⁹⁰ A digital copy of the original publication is now also available online in a downloadable format on the website of Japan's National Diet Library 国会図書館 at "Kindai Dejitaru Raiburari" 近代デジタルライブラリー Database. <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/index.html>. Accessed on January 5, 2009.

⁹¹ Imamura, ed., *Kindai Kendō Meicho Taikei* 近代剣道名著大系.

1.4.2. Notes on translation

In addition to using a selection of major dictionaries (Shinmura 1999; Ueda 1945; Skrzypczak et al 2003; Morohashi 1955-60) to assure consistency in translation, I provide extensive annotation to the text in order to facilitate understanding as well as to indicate sources and other relevant information. In the original text, chapters and subchapters lack enumeration. To facilitate reference to the original in the translation and transliteration, I place the page numbers of the original edition in angle brackets < >.

2. Translation

Moral Instruction in Budō

[Cover]

General Ōyama [Iwao]: calligraphy inserts;

Admiral Tōgō [Heihachirō]: calligraphy inserts;

General Terauchi [Masatake]: letter;

Lieutenant General Hishijima [Yoshiteru]: calligraphy inserts, preface;

Chiba Nyozan-sensei: author.

[Calligraphy Inserts]

My martiality hereupon awakens.

Ōyama Iwao

Temper and polish.

Tōgō Heihachiro

May the teaching
of the way of the sword
be followed far and wide
by all the people
of our imperial country.

Taira-no [Katano] Tokitsumu

Senior Second Rank, Viscount

Dear Sir,

Let me hereby express my heartfelt sentiments of gratitude on the account of
receiving a copy of this edition of *Japanese Budō Manual* that you kindly presented to me.

Sincerely,

Terauchi Masatake, Viscount
[Addressed to:] Mr. Chiba Chōsaku
On April 24th, Meiji 42

Even steel can be cut.⁹²

Hishijima Yoshiteru

[Photographs]

Gen. Ōyama

Adm. Tōgō

Lt. Gen. Hishijima

Yamaoka Tesshū

Chiba Nyōzan, Editor in chief, Imperial Budō Society of Japan.⁹³

<i>

Preface

When the marrow of this Land of Gods is revealed, its Way is that of Martiality, its vital energy is that of a sakura blossom. The reason why it is said “The best flowers are cherry blossoms, the best men are warriors” is that noble purity of the warriors of old – the ideal heroes of our Yamato race – was akin to the beauty of cherry blossoms in full bloom, and for over 2500 years it was the Martial Way (*budō*) and it alone that provided the foundation upon which this nation was built.

With the coming of the Meiji Restoration, all kinds of institutions appeared in imitation of the West,

<ii>

but on their underside lay the detriments of perverseness. Gradually dissolute manners took their root. Ultimately, the outcome is largely a decline in the world of spirit. Alas, how can this not be disconcerting?!

⁹² The line is taken from a poem by Rai San'yō (頼山陽; 1789-1832) titled “Zenheko no uta” 前兵児の謡. *Heko* 兵児, lit. “child soldier”, means “youngster” in Satsuma dialect. Chiba makes a passing reference to the poem in his first book, *Nihon Budō Kyōhan*.

⁹³ 大日本武道会: established by the author in 1907 in collaboration with Lieut. Gen. Yabuki Hidekazu (矢吹秀一).

In response appeared numerous patriots⁹⁴ concerned with the state of righteousness in these troublesome times. Properly speaking, to overcome the vice of acculturation weaknesses, it is best to rely upon martiality 武 rather than culture 文. Chiba Nyozan⁹⁵ cultivated martial skills

<iii>

from his early youth and traveled widely throughout the country. Forging his courage⁹⁶ and tempering his body under the tutelage of late Yamaoka Tesshū he achieved true distinction. He authored the recently published *Japanese Budō Manual* as one of many acts for the promotion of budō. He also opened a dojo, where he continues to educate spirited youths.

In addition, Chiba Nyozan has produced the present publication, *Moral Instruction in Budō*, which contains a modern interpretation of the quintessence of bushidō as well as an explanation of innermost secrets of Budō and a comprehensive treatment of their application details. The author guides his reader's understanding of the material with unsurpassed skill.

<iv>

Having perused this publication, I am of the opinion that it will be of considerable benefit to the Way of Virtue and the human heart in the present age.⁹⁷

This preface is written upon the author's consent in the third month of Meiji 44 [1911].

Hishijima Yoshiteru

Lieutenant General, Army⁹⁸

⁹⁴ 憂国の士, "concerned patriot", is thus contrasted with 愛国者 – patriot (lit. someone who loves his/her country).

⁹⁵ 如山(ニヨザン・ジョザン) is an honorific given name of the author, Chiba Chōsaku.

⁹⁶ 胆: lit. "gall bladder," fig. "courage", "guts"; originally comes from Chinese. Cf. 一身是胆; 臥薪嘗胆, etc.

⁹⁷ 世道人心. *Sedō* is an abbreviation of 今世道德, i.e., "the Way of Virtue (morality) in the present age". *Jinshin*, "the human heart" refers to the Mencian principle of innately good heart.

⁹⁸ 陸軍中將從四位勲二等功三級: Junior Fourth Rank, Second Degree of Honor, Third Grade of Merit (mil. distinctions).

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<1>

Moral Instruction in Budō.**1. Introduction.**

Chiba Chōsaku, Editor in chief, Imperial Budō Society of Japan.

To govern a unified nation and to have concern⁹⁹ over one's nation may seem to be one and the same. In reality, however, these are different. To govern a nation is a statesman's duty, but to express concern over one's nation must be a patriot's¹⁰⁰ mission.

<2>

It happens that a commoner would express his grief for the land and save the course of events. Such were the deeds of all patriots of the nation since ancient times. The patriot would oft excel while the statesman would fall behind.

Foresight with regard to the vicissitudes of all under heaven and national security is in fact the *raison-d'être* of a man of valor.¹⁰¹

In this era, when one examines the making of our empire, it is only on the surface that something like the progress of civilization is apparent. Although we take pride in “crushing powerful opponents”¹⁰² and venture to brag about ourselves as “East Asia's Strongest Nation,” the foundations of this nation are fraught with endless distress at their core.

<3>

Externally, rapid increase in the country's fortune is indicative of continued economic expansion. Internally, however, our fellow citizens are ideologically aloof: dissoluteness is the quicksand upon which we tread. Statesmen, scholars, patriots – all ordinary citizens without distinction – should strive diligently to strengthen the foundations of national administration¹⁰³ in order to overcome the impasse of this disparity between the

⁹⁹ 憂える: to express concern; to grieve; to lament. __ serves as the verbal component of the compound 憂国, i.e. “concern for the nation”, patriotic reproach of the prevailing order. Contrasted with 愛国 – patriotic sentiment, love for one's homeland.

¹⁰⁰ 志士: Lit. “a man of noble ideas”; here, abbrev. of 憂国の志士, i.e. “concerned patriot”.

¹⁰¹ This sentence is a good example of “code mixing”, namely, where both the premodern rhetoric “all under heaven” is put together with modern terms such as “national security”.

¹⁰² China and Russia are implied here.

¹⁰³ Both “nation” 国家 (lit. family-state) and “administration” 経営 (lit.) are typical examples of vocabulary recycling during Meiji language reform. Originally, both terms were of common use in dynastic China since

internal and external, and to confront the world's greatest powers. This is a difficult task, indeed. Incompetent as I am, I nonetheless continue to address my sincere appeal to my fifty million countrymen.¹⁰⁴

<4>

Even if we assume that both patriotic concern and politicians' love for the populace are one and the same when expressed to the innermost depth, what matters then is the ability to show consideration for ages to come, rather than remaining entangled in the matters of the present time. Thus I envision that, for a state such as our empire, consideration for matters effecting future generations should be prioritized over present concerns. I shall explain this in more detail below.

2. The cause of corruption of public ideology.

First and foremost, there is no other homeland like ours, the Empire of Japan. With its unbroken imperial line, it has towered supreme over the Eastern Seas for more than 2500 years, never once looked down upon by a foreign country.

<5>

Second, there is no other nation like ours, whose people, brought together by the ideals of loyalty and patriotism, have nurtured a unique spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of their homeland for more than 2500 years.

However, as global interactions increased, there appeared so-called "global tides," namely, the systematization of resources and advancement of knowledge on a grand scale served only to trample on the frail and the poor. The superpowers prevailed. The weaker countries of Asia and Africa were thus annexed one after another. Only one or two countries at most, apart from Japan and China, remain intact. Among them, Japan and China are the only two countries that actually proclaimed their independence.

As I try to gaze into the future of our Empire,

great antiquity where the state was literally run by means of familial ties and divination. Hence, Chiba's use of such terms as foresight 洞察 in the preceding paragraph is hardly incidental.

¹⁰⁴ The population of Japan in 1910 was 49.184 million. Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan Statistic Bureau, "Population Census. Chapter 1: Size and Geographical Distribution of the Population," (<http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/kokusei/2005/poj/pdf/2005ch01.pdf>, 2005), 3. Accessed on Nov. 4, 2008.

<6>

two things worry me the most: paucity of material resources on the one hand, and gradual corruption of ideology on the other. If the ideology were rectified,¹⁰⁵ the paucity of material resources as such would not constitute as great a problem.¹⁰⁶ Thus the worst condition is that of the gradual corruption of the nation's ideology.

But why does the nation's spirit lack integrity, and how do we rectify it? The cause, I believe, is the increased destabilization of social roles and mental unrest,¹⁰⁷ augmented by the twist of Western ideologies.¹⁰⁸

<7>

Moreover, to my understanding, this condition surely came into being because the “living bushidō,” that is, Modern Bushidō (to which I adhere on a day-to-day basis), was not implanted in the mind-fields of our national subjects from the very beginning.

While it is pointless to lament over what has already come to pass, from now on the task is to quickly implant into the mind-fields of our national subjects the bushidō that best befits our times, namely, living bushidō – not just a necessity in the times of emergency but also in peaceful times – Modern Bushidō, the contents of which are explained below.

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3. Bushidō as national faith

Our Empire of Japan has recently waged a war against China and has earned distinction and military esteem due to successive victories. And what did the people of Japan generally think of that? They thought that our country had won the war against China because we were quicker than they were in importing Western civilization and making use

105 The use of 慥, spelled out as たしか, is used mainly in Confucian writings, e.g., 君子胡不慥慥爾。 “Would a gentleman not abide in utmost integrity?!” (The *Doctrine of the Mean* 3.2) The literal meaning of the character is “to make sth with the heart”, i.e. a total correspondence of virtuous actions and virtuous intent, the utmost integrity. In this sentence I translate 思想が慥かであったならば as “if the ideology were rectified” in a sense of its correspondence to a set of moral faiths the author is about to discuss below. The neg. form, 慥でない in the following passage can be translated as “lacking integrity.”

¹⁰⁶ This idea is clearly a borrowing from *Analects* 12.7, where Confucius stresses the primary importance of public morale over the natural resources.

¹⁰⁷ 恒産恒心 is a borrowing from *Mencius* IIIA:3, according to which a stable social position, e.g. constant means of support 恒産 is a co-requisite of mental stability 恒心 – lit. a “constant heart / mind”. See Mencius and D. C. Lau, *Mencius*, Chinese Classics, Chinese-English Series. (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1984), Vol. 1, 97.

¹⁰⁸ Various -isms.

of advanced weaponry, strategies, and military institutions. Thus they attributed victory to the disparity in the degree of Westernization.

However, when we confronted Russia, which was considered a world power, Japan became the center of attention as our songs of victory repeatedly astounded the whole world. Why was the world so surprised? It was a mystery how such a small country as Japan

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defeated such a giant as Russia. Upon a rigorous search for the unique feature that could reveal what it is exactly that Japan possesses and other countries do not, the conclusion, without a doubt, was the “samurai spirit” of the Japanese populace. Accordingly, as our Japanese nation raised this awareness for the first time, we reasoned that Japan had achieved victory over such a powerful country as Russia owing to the lasting old spirit of bushidō, which reveals itself at times of national distress, as at the time of the Mongol invasion.

From that moment, the bushidō phenomenon encouraged a great deal of speculation.

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We should then have likewise attributed the cause of our victory over China to this national spirit of bushidō. But we did not. Only after the Russo-Japanese War did we begin to see incessant references to bushidō, because, in my opinion, it was the first time that our national subjects attained of their own accord awareness of the need to protect the existence of the nation. The sense of the necessity for the nation to protect itself surely entails the need for the nation to carry out self-cultivation¹⁰⁹ and practical application of moral precepts¹¹⁰ in order to form proper character. Whether or not we succeed at the outset in cultivating and putting to practice these moral precepts is a matter of life and death for our nation.

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In sum, the fate of our nation lies in our own hands, and none other.

¹⁰⁹ 修養<しゅうよう>: self-cultivation.

¹¹⁰ 訓練<くんれん>: practical application 練 of moral instruction 訓.

As one peruses world history, it becomes evident that, if national spirit remains intact, which is to say, if a nation upholds proper faith¹¹¹ and succeeds in transmitting it to posterity, such a nation continues to exist over a long period of time. The opposite is also true: a nation that fails to do so witnesses its own destruction. Thus national subjects should always be mindful to cultivate proper faith. Ultimately, bushidō is nothing but this faith that comes down to us from our warrior-ancestors' daily life.

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We must also tread the path they once walked and succeed in manifesting the spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of our nation. Nonetheless, since there are many who misinterpret the meaning of “bushidō,” I feel the need to define it clearly; thus I trace the very roots of bushidō in the pages that follow.

4. The Roots of Bushidō

From the very beginning, all that is born between Heaven and Earth possesses what is known as “fighting spirit.”¹¹² A bird owes its impulse to fly to its fighting spirit. A fish owes its impulse to leap from the water to its fighting spirit.

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In other words, the fighting spirit is the very root of all life activity, the *yang* energy 陽氣 of the universe. So it is with humans as well. Both men and women, from the moment of their birth, all possess fighting spirit. We owe the impulse to rise to our feet to our fighting spirit. Wanting to take our first step comes from our fighting spirit. If we draw a parallel between the fighting spirit and body functions, it is like that between bones and will,¹¹³ both of which are vital to us. The unadulterated Heaven-endowed spirit¹¹⁴ shines forth in its active aspect as the fighting spirit. Without doubt, all of humanity possesses it.

¹¹¹ 信念<しんねん>: faith, creed. “Faith” here also refers to faithful adherence to the tradition of self-cultivation. Hence he uses the terms 修養訓練 and 信念 interchangeably.

¹¹² 武 is best rendered into English as “martiality”. However with respect to animals and “humans without morality,” the context-specific rendition is “fighting spirit”, which is later contrasted with “martiality” proper. To reiterate what the author is about to explain, “fighting spirit” is an uncultivated, crude substance of “martiality”. Cf. 質 in Confucianism.

¹¹³ 意気<いき>: according to the Chinese medical physiological model, intent 意 guides and directs energy 氣. (*Mencius* II A:2)

¹¹⁴ 天真爛漫なる精神 denotes Heaven-endowed original purity i.e. spiritual innocence. This term is often used to describe the playful innocence of a child. 爛漫 is an allegoric description of something radiating from its source.

However, to engage the fighting spirit in a proper way¹¹⁵ means: advancing when one ought to advance, retreating when one ought to retreat, dying when one ought to die,

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and living when one ought to live. Thus speaking, I do not mean that the whole of humanity acts in accord with duty 義. The opposite is true: there are few nations that have rectified martiality. Moreover, there is only one nation that possesses the unique faith, what we call Japanese Bushidō: Japan alone.

5. Examples of Western Forms of Bushidō.

Before proceeding with the discussion of Japanese Bushidō, I shall give a brief account of Chinese and Western precedents for it.

Generally speaking, every country has some notions of morality, and some countries develop these notions further than others. China was one of the first among historical state formations to define and develop the fundamental concepts of good and evil, the Virtue of the Way,¹¹⁶

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and advantages and disadvantages of statesmanship. Ancient worthies such as Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 “did nothing and people transformed themselves.”¹¹⁷ They indulged in laissez-faire when dealing with the populace. Consequently, the bond between people and rulers was weak, and an intimate ruler-subject unity was not established. In the ages that followed, rulers mainly placed emphasis on the five human relations¹¹⁸ and self-cultivation,

¹¹⁵ 正道<せいどう>: correct path, path of righteousness. The author alludes here to 道 of bushidō. Chiba’s discourse at this point clearly derives from Mencian idea of the innate good heart 心 that tends to be lost as a result of indulging in one’s unrestrained desires. The author spins this particular notion of “loss of innocence” into the framework of bushidō substituting 心 with 武.

¹¹⁶ 道德 is yet another instance among the recycled terms that in classical Chinese signifies the Way and Virtue, but during Meiji it acquired a new meaning as a Japanese rendering of the Western term “morality.” Hence, I make the ambiguity apparent in this translation.

¹¹⁷ A quote from DDJ:57. 「無為にして化す」 is an abbreviation of 「我無為にして民自ずから化す」.

¹¹⁸ 五倫<ごりん>: the five human relations. Mencius explains them as follows: 父子有親, 君臣有義, 夫婦有別, 長幼有序, 朋友有信 (Mencius and Lau, *Mencius*, 104.) i.e. “**closeness** between father and son, **duty** between ruler and subject, **difference** between husband and wife, **priority** of old over young, **trust** between friend and friend” (*Mencius* IIIA: 4; my trans., emphasis added). Mencius further proclaims that moral cultivation depends upon embodying sincerity 誠, without which one cannot establish the five h. r. Achieving sincerity depends on “illuminating goodness” 明善 i.e. retaining one’s heart 心. (*Mencius* IVA:12)

making ritual and music flourish, putting human hearts in harmony, and persevering in the subjugation of the masses, but refraining from displaying their martial splendor.¹¹⁹ The rulers let their robes hang loose, folded their hands, and dwelled in palaces,¹²⁰ separating themselves from the people. Therefore, the great mutual duties of rulers and subjects were not put into practice. Thus China had no opportunity to produce a unique national faith.

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Let us turn to the historic origins of the European civilization and take the example of the Roman culture in its middle epoch.¹²¹ Roman morality was based on strict household regulations. Fathers had absolute and unconditional privileges. Mothers were the caregivers of the family, and it was they who provided firsthand moral instruction for their children. At that time, children received military and religious education; the people were strong and abounded in martial splendor. When Romans had acquired a taste for the decadent elegance of Athens, however, parents began to delegate the responsibility for raising their children to slaves.

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The spirit of the nation gradually weakened and ultimately perished.

Similarly, in the middle epoch of Ancient Greece, the Spartans extolled martiality and were very powerful. A mother would exhort her son as he went to his post: “Either with the shield or on it.”¹²² With this example we understand how strong the nation was. However, this powerful state too gradually succumbed to indolence and perished.

For further discussion on “goodness”, see James Behuniak, *Mencius on Becoming Human*, Suny Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 55-59.

¹¹⁹ Lit. “channeling/shaping 氣象 the martial might 尚武” denotes an ideal of martiality in Chinese antiquity as display of Virtue in the state of effortlessness. In modern Japanese, 氣象 is synonymous to 気性 and denotes natural disposition. Thus an equally plausible translation of 尚武氣象 is “superior fighting temperament”.

¹²⁰ 垂拱くすいきょう: to let one’s sleeves hang loose. The *Book of Documents* has the following passage: 「垂拱而天下治」(書經, 武成) transl. as “He [King Wu] let his robes hang loose, folded his hands, and All-under-Heaven was in order.”

¹²¹ No exact dates, names or sources with respect to the historical data are mentioned at any point of this historical collage. 其中世紀, i.e., “its middle epoch” is unlikely to refer to any particular period of Roman history, e.g. the Republic (508 BC – 27 BC), or the Empire (27 BC – AD 476 / 1453). Instead, it reveals the author’s worldview as grounded in the classical Chinese notion of “centrality” 中. It is also likely that he does not understand the span of the medieval period in Europe, which is generally rendered into Japanese as 中世 since Meiji. Furthermore, the author is prone to depicting the course of history as endless cycles of rises and falls as seen throughout the text (盛衰と存亡) using *martiality* as a yardstick of a nation’s success.

¹²² A free quote from Plutarch, *Sayings of Spartan Women*, 241.16. Cf. Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Spartan Women* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 60.

Subsequently, the peoples of Germania – the ancestral land of modern Germany – in the 13th and 14th centuries¹²³

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led a frugal unsophisticated life upholding martial valor 武勇. There was a commonly practiced ritual in which their youths who had come of age would go to the ceremonial ground, obtaining arms at that sacred place. The youths were there initiated into manhood. They then bore arms at all times and treasured them. This ceremony resembles the coming-of-age ceremony of our country in the feudal period. But let us look more closely at this arms-awarding ceremony. The age of the initiates was anywhere between thirteen and twenty depending on their maturity of character and physical strength.

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Imbued with an aura of solemnity, the town or village elders sat upon an elevated platform. As the long-haired youths approached the platform, the elders bestowed a lance and a shield on each of them and gave them names in keeping with their national allegiance. In this way, to everyone's delight, cosseted boys became independent men. It was the honor of a lifetime. In those days Germania sang hymns of praise to chivalry, to the flower of the feudal age. In this respect it possessed something quite resonant with the days of feudal warriors in our country. Martial splendor endured among the populace. In my opinion, it is the persistence of this trait in contemporary Germany that makes for a healthy national spirit, unlike the case of other countries in Europe.

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Thus, in the middle epochs of Greece and Rome, the West too had its own kinds of bushidō. To love justice, to subdue the violent, and to save powerless – such were its creeds. Ultimately, the bushidō of these peoples entailed recourse to martial power to carry out justice. As they lost the bushidō, however, they also lost their states. This happened because they forgot about self-cultivation, neglecting the practical application of their moral principles. They brought it upon themselves, and no external power is to be blamed. History itself provides the proof.

¹²³ In this period, the Germanic territories were a part of the Holy Roman Empire.

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Therefore our Empire of Japan must cultivate and put to use the principles of Bushidō.

6. Explanation of Japanese Bushidō.

From its inception, the Bushidō of our Empire of Japan has differed from that of the West. Endowed with a unique faith, it is purely Japanese Bushidō. In the course of its continual evolution, this pure Japanese Bushidō did not hinder the progress of civilization. The feudal system gave way to the Imperial Restoration and the establishment of constitutional government. The system and the national ideology today differ from those of the past. Bushidō too has changed and has now become modern.

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Consequently, the foundations of the nation ought to be solidified, and the power of the nation to be developed. Considering the present state of corruption of ideology, the need to apply bushidō instruction has doubled. In other words, we need to renew the use of Bushidō to open new horizons. Yet there is a conviction among our people that we need only resort to Bushidō at times of crisis, that we do not need it on a day-to-day basis. Yet another conviction has it that Bushidō is a prerogative of the military, while commerce, industry, and farming have no need for it. Consequently, a situation has emerged in which people do not put Bushidō to practical use in a manner befitting the modern way of life.

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Hence I feel compelled to outline briefly the history of development of Japanese Bushidō here.

Since the original founding of the nation, direct subjects of the emperor commanded warriors for many generations, for instance, the Ōkume,¹²⁴ the Mononobe, and later the Ōtomo and the Saeki clans. With thoughts of noble purity, they served as an example to the people insofar as they spread the ideals of loyalty and patriotism far and wide. It is my sincere belief that Bushidō formed the Japanese character among ordinary people, who had

¹²⁴ 大来目 is a clan name mentioned in the *Nihonshoki*. The *Kojiki* transliteration is 大久米. The author probably referred to the story of Ōkume no Mikoto, who took part in the Eastern expedition of Emperor Jinmu. Nichigai Associates. "Japanknowledge Plus." At <http://www.jkn21.com> (NetAdvance Inc, 2009). 「大久米命」 entry. Accessed on February 18, 2009.

been brought together by the land with its abundant graceful landscapes, favorable climate, and rich harvests.

For nearly a millennium, from the time Emperor Jinmu's reign¹²⁵ until the arrival of Confucianism and Buddhism in the land of Japan,

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there was no literary education, and yet it goes without saying that the relations between the rulers and subjects were harmonious and the nation was strong and secure. As is clear from the example of Empress Jingū¹²⁶ who sailed far away across the sea on a punitive expedition against the Three Korean Kingdoms, we can see how adamantly our nation upheld its loyalty to its rulers, and how splendid was its martial might. Most definitely, knowledge in ancient Japan was mainly practical and was passed on from body to body, from mouth to mouth.¹²⁷ In this manner, over time, the ideals of loyalty and patriotism were brought to maturation among the illiterate, and the ancestors were worshipped. The people commemorated the achievements of the ancestors, praised their martial valor in festive songs, and aspired to emulate them ardently. It is a proven fact, verifiable through numerous examples, that our people took the ancestral precepts to heart and lived by them.

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With the coming of the medieval times, the Fujiwara, and then the Minamoto, the Taira and other clans, became suzerains, seizing the supreme authority over life and death. At that moment in history the ways of the rulers and subjects thus changed, and the concept of duty between lords and retainers was born. Bushidō consequently changed too, greatly narrowing in its scope. This meant that the vastness of loyalty and patriotism was restricted

¹²⁵ The legendary first sovereign (tennō) of Japan, according to Kojiki and Nihonshoki. The latter gives Jinmu's reign dates as 660—585 BC, the dates removed from any historical reality. The chronicles relate that Jinmu was the great-great-grandson of the sun goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami. After growing up in the Takachiho Palace in Hyūga (probably what is now Miyazaki Prefecture in Kyūshū), he resolved at age 45 to conquer the Yamato region. In an expedition that lasted several years he made his way along the Inland Sea and landed his forces northwest of Yamato. At first defeated by local chieftains, he ultimately subdued the area with the aid of a golden bird and was enthroned as Japan's first emperor. Nichigai Associates. "JapanKnowledge Plus." "Jimmu, Emperor" entry. Accessed on February 19, 2009.

¹²⁶ See Trede, in Doris Croissant, Catherine Vance Yeh, and Joshua S. Mostow, eds., *Performing "Nation": Gender Politics in Literature, Theater, and the Visual Arts of China and Japan, 1880-1940*, Sinica Leidensia; V. 91; (Leiden: Boston, 2008). 55-104, for a discussion on the construction of this myth.

¹²⁷ The knowledge was reenacted.

to following the lord in life and death. Nourished by their lord's graces, retainers offered their lives in return – and the highest duty of subjects to the ruler¹²⁸ was not deeply heartfelt.

During the rule of the Tokugawa clan, the Way of the Man of Honor¹²⁹ was taught,

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and samurai were required to abide by strict and constant rules. Becoming accomplished in the Way of the Gentleman,¹³⁰ they eventually attained the spirit of duty and valor. These are their illustrious writings: *Way of the Man of Honor* by Yamaga Sokō, a famous strategist; *Doctrine of the Man of Honor* by Muro Kyūsō, a distinguished scholar; *Collection of Beginnings of Budō* by Daidoji Yūzan Shigenori, another celebrated strategist; *Applied Theory of the Way of the Man of Honor* by Saitō Setsudō Seiken,¹³¹ a great scholar; *Seven Rules Befitting the Man of Honor*¹³² by Yoshida Shōin, a great man of the last days of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Despite this considerable broadening of the bushidō doctrine, Japanese Bushidō of loyalty and patriotism was not yet formulated at this stage. That doctrine was indeed suitable for those days, and it had to be that way.

¹²⁸ Herein the author contrasts Modern Bushidō, i.e. the Way of loyalty to the emperor (the highest duty) and patriotic feeling toward the whole nation, to feudal bushidō, i.e. loyalty of retainers to their lords.

¹²⁹ 士道<しどう>

¹³⁰ 君子 refers to the ideal of a “gentleman” in Confucian self-cultivation. The expression used, 君子の道 means “Confucian Way” in general and also includes mastery of “gentlemanly arts”(芸). Yoshida Shōin gives this a new meaning. Cf. Ng (2001).

¹³¹ 正謙 can also be read as Masakane.

¹³² The *Rules* are: “1. Everyone who was born human – not a beast – must adhere to the five relations. [See n. 117.] Of these, the loyalty of vassals to lords and filial piety are the most important. 2. Everyone who was born in our Empire must know its line of provenance. Our Imperial Dynasty has been going on forever from time immemorial as one single unbroken line. Imperial vassals received their domains from one generation to another. Rulers have been acting as providers for the people. Therefore we must be grateful for it, and greatly indebted to them. Rulers and the people are of one body. Loyalty to the ruler and filial piety to the parents are one and the same thing. In this world, our country is the only one that bears these traits. 3. Duty is of the utmost value for the Way of Man of Honor. Duty takes its root in courage; courage is extended by duty. 4. The acts of a gentleman must be prompted by the true quality [of sincere heart]; cheating is shameful. Always shine on in true greatness. 5. Regardless of the changes of times always tread the righteous path of saints, endeavor in learning and make good friends. Thus are the deeds of a gentleman. 6. Realizing one's Virtue and rectifying one's nature depends on repaying the debts of gratitude to teachers and friends. Therefore a gentleman journeys far and wide. 7. “Stopping only after death” are the four words with the deepest meaning: not to persist in one's resolve until the very end is to be profane.” (My transl. of 「士規七則」 taken from Izan Sugihara 杉原夷山. *Yoshida Shōin Seishin Shōyōdan* 吉田松陰精神修養談. (Tokyo: Daigakkan 大学館, 1909). 53-4.)

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7. Causes of rises and falls of a nation.

After the Imperial Restoration had overthrown the Tokugawa clan, we entered into an era when the voice of the public should determine the state affairs.¹³³ Once Japan began to adopt Western civilization and ideology, it became a society dedicated to construction; labor swept up everyone, everywhere, with pretty much anything. At this time, no one proclaimed Bushidō, no one beat the drums of Bushidō and called upon it. Everyone simply praised the progress of civilization, its contrivances and institutions. Then in 1894-5, we fought against China, and in 1904-5 we had to fight against Russia.

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Twice victorious, the country expanded its territory and raised its national prestige around the world. National economy spurred a need for expansionist policies. Thus the need arose for our nation to aspire and to make a great effort with confidence and determination.

We must study ourselves. When we won the war against Russia, the whole world began to study Japan. And as they did, some began to fear us while others began to envy us. The powerful ones of this world started investing in warfare unreservedly. They built battleships weighing tens of thousands of tons. They competed in the production of terrifying military dirigibles and aircrafts.

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While openly they speak incessantly of peace, secretly they steadily prepare for war. It has become a dangerous world, indeed. As nations around the world race to increase their power, Japan too will inevitably enter the maelstrom. Nay, it is in the midst of it already.

In order to preserve the flawless treasure¹³⁴ that is our national polity, and to secure and sustain our hold over new territories, we must first and foremost improve the stronghold and the source of our nation – our national faith. If a nation does not possess strong faith,

¹³³ 五箇条の(御)誓文: The *Five Article Oath* was declared by Emperor Meiji in 1868. This declaration laid the foundation of the Restoration government. The first article maintains that “the voice of the public should determine the state affairs.” Nichigai Associates. "JapanKnowledge Plus." Accessed on Feb. 9, 2009.

¹³⁴ 金匱無欠<きんおうむけつ>: lit. “golden flawlessness” is a borrowing from the *Nanshi* 南史.

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then no matter how advanced this nation's knowledge might be and no matter how lucrative its economy might become, it will prove difficult, I believe, even to hope for permanent independence and enduring prestige.

Let us turn to the examples of Assyria and Babylonia, the two oldest nations in world history. Both countries are long gone, and to visit the ruins of old fortresses – which is all that remains from them – is of not much benefit. How did this come to pass? It is similar with the lamentable abandoned remains of what used to be the high culture of Rome and Greece, all died out by the Middle Ages; people today hesitate over those pages in their history books. Why did this happen? Then again, the deplorable scene of Egypt and India today – both devastated – causes people in other countries to shed a sympathetic tear, but in vain. Whenever someone asks me why such things happened,

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I do not hesitate to express my opinion, answering: because these countries all lost their characteristic national faith.

Hence, in my opinion, with respect to our Empire of Japan, we should above all be concerned with and fear for the gradual corrosion of our historical faith and the preference for the materialist culture of the West, which encourages anomalous inclinations. If the corrupt ideology that goes against the grain with our national makeup spreads throughout our land, our proud indigenous customs, frugal and pristine, will fall prey to the invading vices of vanity and affluence. Then, no matter how wealthy our nation may be today, and no matter how far we expand our territories abroad, if the power of our own faith lacks the strength of unassailable conviction,¹³⁵ we shall eventually get into a situation where we are unable to manage it efficiently. The corollaries to this course of events are quite obvious.

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8. The necessity for applied practice of Bushidō instructions.

My most sincere hope is to create a rock-solid foundation for this nation of flawless gold. In order to achieve this we need to train and cultivate the character of the next

¹³⁵堅忍不拔<けんになふばつ>: lit. “invincible fortitude”(Negated in the text) an idiomatic expression coined by Su Shi 蘇軾(1036-1101).

generation of our nation, our children, with strictness and unflagging strength. I know this to be the utmost priority, for it outweighs national security and economy in priority. Having acknowledged this, I shall explain in greater detail.

When one examines the competition among the majority of the nations around the world today,

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it is clear that of the matters of national security with which nations are most preoccupied are so-called “military preparations.” In terms of national economy, the biggest expenditures are thus related to advancing weaponry. As a rough estimate, our navy comprises five million tons¹³⁶ with five-million personnel in total. Its yearly expenditure totals five billion ten thousand yen.¹³⁷ Is it not an enormous expense!? Yet the nations that spend the most on military expansion are considered the most powerful. While that may well be the case, countries with lesser fortunes, such as our Japan, find it difficult to allow for such expenses and to compete with Western nations. I suspect that, even with territorial expansion, the situation will hardly change for the better, since the expenditures will also increase along the way.

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As a result, there is something we should be considering at this juncture. Rather than spending more and more every year toward material ends, we should be investing in an untainted and intangible power — the correct Japanese faith, that is, Modern Bushidō. It should be instilled and cultivated in the hearts and minds of the next generation of our nation, our children. This is truly the most appropriate course of action.

9. Qualities of a genuine nation.

I truly believe that, within the next twenty years, the whole world will come to see

¹³⁶ By 1913 Japan's ship ownership was slightly over two million tons. (Hiromi Masuda, "Chapter 4: Developing an Independent Transportation Technology (1910-1921): Coastal and River Transport," in *Technological Innovation and the Development of Transportation in Japan* (United Nations University Press, 1993). Available online at The United Nations University Website: http://d-arch.ide.go.jp/je_archive/society/book_jes6_d04_04.html Accessed on Oct. 11, 2008.

¹³⁷ The numbers are greatly exaggerated. The Navy Budget estimate total between Fiscal Years 1904 –1913 was 100,001,499 yen. (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, "Fiscal 1903 Extraordinary Budget Request for Construction Expense of Naval Ships and Related Bills," ed. National Archives of Japan. (<http://www.jacar.go.jp/english/nichiro/keyword06.htm>). Accessed on Nov. 8, 2008.

our Empire of Japan not only as one of the greatest powers but also as a nation of justice, if we persist in providing for tangible costs of military expenditures,

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and if in the wake of these twenty years, the next generation of our nation, our children, come of age becoming model citizens fully endowed with martial valor and a sense of justice.

No matter how rich a country or how strong its nation, if the nation does not value justice and pursues only profits, or if it torments, tyrannizes and lures lesser powers into poverty, I would not call it a great or civilized country. Nay, I would without hesitation call it a despicable opponent of world peace.¹³⁸

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What then is a nation that loves justice? To answer this question, allow me to start at the individual level. Such a nation should consist of people who possess the correct faith of their nation, a sense of duty and sympathy toward the weak. They walk the path of righteousness, unafraid. They enjoy their destiny and possess a noble character, wishing universal goodness and peace for the whole world. At the national level, the country should fulfill the duty of assuring the coexistence of its people and providing mutual well-being for all. It should then offer relief to weaker countries and promote culture. Finally, such a nation should make contributions to world civilization, exploring the unknown and clarifying obscurities. It should thus, for the sake of humanity, abandon the unilateral pursuit of profit. These are the qualities of a genuine nation.

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10. Due faith of the Japanese nation.

Although our Japanese nation has today expanded its economic purview, as I discussed previously, the spirit of the general public is exceedingly unstable and dissolute, prone to hedonism and full of extravagance and vanity. Imbued with habits of Western fashion, people of today have ultimately cast off the refined and prudent customs of our ancestors, forged and cultivated through endless hardship. We cannot procrastinate anymore.

¹³⁸ The rhetoric echoes the discourse in *Mencius* IA:7 defying a deviant king who impoverishes people and punishes the transgressors of the law, thus ensnaring his subjects into a vicious circle of crime.

We must act upon this situation and cure the world of thought without further delay.

In order to cure the world of thought, we need appropriate measures to rectify the spirit of our national subjects.

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A mature nation that knows the difference between right and wrong and understands reasons behind occurrences is like a religious adept in his ardent fervor, who of his own accord truly possesses the joy of profound due faith and who cannot be distracted. Moreover, with respect to application of the warrior faith for the second generation of national subjects, our children, no measure is as crucial as the methodology of practical instruction.

To attain due faith, we should worship our ancestors, appreciate the beauty of our land's natural features, love the elegance of its landscapes, experience the richness of its history, and embrace the feeling of appreciation of its value wholeheartedly.

Here, I would like us to read a few ancient poems composed by our ancestors, to acknowledge the profundity of their faith and delicacy of their thought.

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A poem by Sir Ōtomo no Yakamochi:

The Ōtomos'

Progenitor Divine –

His Name was

Ōkumenushi.

When prompted

by the duty,

they avowed:

“Should on the sea we go,

our corpses – water-sodden;

should on the mountains we go,

our corpses – grass-consumed.

By Your Majesty's side

die we shall.

Look back we shall not!”

Those lofty men,
whose pure name
from days gone by
till now
has been preserved,
are ancestors of ours –
The Ōtomo
and the Saeki clans alike.
Their oath,
we utter it as well.
A son should never fail
to have his father's name endure.
Thus we shall serve
Our Lord
and make those words assured.
Catalpa bows –
we keep them in our hands;
Straight swords and curved blades
we fasten to our hips.
The morning watch,
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the night watch, all the same –
we guard His Majesty
and His August Abode.
There will be no one
other than ourselves!
So swear we do
and our resolve grows only stronger.
The Honor
of Your Majesty's command,

Attend we do and follow.¹³⁹

When we read this poem we realize how deep our ancestors' convictions of loyalty were.

A poem by Ōe no Chisato:

The autumn sun
is close by the mountain's edge.
At the sunset
I shall see my mother.
Hurry, my steed!¹⁴⁰

A poem by Yamanoue no Okura:

Silver,
gold and jewels –
how could these be
greater treasures
than our children?¹⁴¹

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A poem by Acolyte Yasuyori:

Waters of Satsuma
wash upon the little island
where I dwell.

¹³⁹ *Manyōshū* 4118/4094 by Ōtomo no Yakamochi (composed ca 749), congratulatory poem on issuance of the Imperial Rescript concerning the gold found in Michinoku. This poem, in fact, reflects Ōtomo's concern with his clan member's intrigues against the current emperor. The poem numbers provided here and below are taken from "Shinpen Kokka Taikan" Henshu Iinkai 「新編国歌大観」編集委員会, *Shinpen Kokka Taikan* 新編国歌大観, Cd-Rom (Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, 2003).

¹⁴⁰ Ōe no Chisato 大江千里 (dates uncertain), a poet and Confucian scholar of the Early Heian period. A son or grandson of Ōe no Otondo 大江音人, Chisato held several official and military posts during his life (details uncertain). In Kanbyō 6 (894 C.E.) Chisato offered a collection of poems, the *Kudaiwaka* 句題和歌 to Emperor Uda 宇多天皇. Cf. Muneo Inoue 井上宗雄 and Chūichi Mukawa 武川忠一, *Shinpen Waka no Kaishaku to Kanshō Jiten* 新編和歌の解釈と鑑賞事典, 2nd ed. (Kasama Shoin 笠間書院, 2000), 214-15. The poem above, included in the *Kudaiwaka*, is an *allusive variation* 本歌取り of a poem by Kakinomoto no Hitomaro, *Man'yōshū* 3460/3441, tr. by René Sieffert as follows: Au logis de m'amie/ que j'entrevois au loin /dans les nuages/ ah quand donc y parviendrai-je/ trotte ô mon coursier [ま遠くの雲居に見ゆる妹が家に何時か至らむ歩めあが駒.] René Sieffert, *Man'yōshū: Livres XIV à XX*. (Paris: Publications orientalistes de France ; UNESCO, 1997), 27. Chiba changes Chisato's ending: 歩めあが駒 into 急げわが駒.

¹⁴¹ *Man'yōshū* 807/803

Tell my parents so,
ye tideway winds!¹⁴²

A poem by Minamoto no Sadanobu:
Tomorrow come,
what would I wish for
as I glance (through harvests of the fields belonging to another...)
upon the storm-battered
pink blossom (that I treasured)?
(More rains?)¹⁴³

When we read these poems, we indeed understand that our ancestors possessed not only deep convictions of loyalty but also filial piety and parental love.

A poem by Yamanobe no Akahito:
To her
I wished to show
the plum blossoms –
or are they
just the snow?¹⁴⁴

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Reading this poem we can see how tender the spousal affection was in a family.

A poem by Kakinomoto no Hitomaro:
To-morrow
I shall go gathering young greens

¹⁴² Taira no Yasuyori. *Senzaishū* 542.

¹⁴³ The author of this poem is Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信(1758-1829), pen name Minamoto 樂翁源公, a grandson of the eighth Tokugawa shogun, Yoshimune. A neo-Confucianist politician and expert martial artist (*jūjutsu*), Sadanobu was at the head of the think-tank behind the failed idealistic Kansei Reform 寛政の改革 (1787-93), modeled after Yoshimune's Kyōhō Reform 享保の改革(1716-45).

Although the poem above may read as an allusion to the reform, in the *Sansōshū* (or *Mikusashū*) 三草集, Sadanobu's collected poems, it is included under the topic "Upon passing away of Yoshi Hime"(Sadanobu's daughter). Poem 892 (*Shinpen Kokka Taikan*). たのみ is a pivot word for 頼み and 田の実, or yet 他の実/身. The pivot ながめまし can also be read both as 眺めまし and 長雨増し. 撫子 is also a pivot for 撫し子. I used brackets for the pivoted structures.

¹⁴⁴ *Man'yōshū*, 1430/1426. One of the four spring tanka by Akahito, example of *elegant confusion* 見立.

upon the lonely hill
where the morning meadow (of reeds)
now looks as if in flames.¹⁴⁵

Thus it becomes obvious how tender the feelings within a family were.

Now let us pay heed to the proclamations and poems uttered by the successive rulers of our ancestors.

Emperor Nintoku made a declaration to the assembly of his ministers (*Nihonshoki* XI, 4th year, 2nd month):

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As I ascended the high platform and gazed afar, the smoke rising [from the dwellings] was nowhere to be seen. The people, I suppose, are so poor that none of them cook their rice. I heard that long ago, in the era of the sage rulers of antiquity, the people extolled their sovereigns' Virtue, and from the homes echoed the songs jubilating the order. Now, three years have passed since the beginning of my reign, but no eulogy is ever heard; the kitchen smoke is growing ever thinner. Thus I know that the five grains do not come up and that the people are poverty-stricken. If even the capital region is in dearth [of provisions], what then must it be in the outer provinces?

Then in the same era¹⁴⁶, the Emperor composed this poem:

Upon the high platform
I ascended and viewed
columns of smoke curling up –
people's cooking pots
are now brimming.¹⁴⁷

Emperor Sūjin¹⁴⁸ addressed the assembly of his ministers (*Nihonshoki* V, 4th year,

¹⁴⁵ *Wakan Rōeishū* 35. Under the title “Young Greens”若菜. Here つません pivots as 摘ません and 妻せん suggesting a possible reading of the poem as an expression of excitement for a prospect of marriage, emphatically so if we read かたをかの not as the regular 片岡の, but as 方を此の. あしたの原 reads both as 朝原 and 葦田の原, an epithet for the Yamato plains.

¹⁴⁶ Having made the above observation, Nintoku relieved the people from taxes and conscription. Three years later, when he inspected the land again, the kitchen smoke was in abundance. People prospered. *Nihongi* XI.8-10, *Kojiki* III.110. Strong influence of Confucian historical writing is clearly discernable in these passages. The passage numbers for *Nihongi* are from Aston (1975), *Kojiki*: Philippi (1969).

¹⁴⁷ *Shin Kokinshū* 707. The theme of rising kitchen smoke is also made use of in *Man'yōshū* 2.

10th month):

Since the very beginning, my august ancestors, the Heavenly Sovereigns, descended upon this land and reigned – could it be for their own sake? On the contrary, they revealed themselves as incarnate divinities¹⁴⁹ to become supreme pastors, and to weave all under heaven into order. Therefore they were able to endow the world with mysterious¹⁵⁰ merits and propagate the highest Virtue. Now that I have accepted the great destiny and succeeded the throne I shall nurture people caringly. To follow the path of my august ancestors and to protect the infinite dynasty for ages to come – how can this be accomplished? Be loyal, ye ministers and officers! What can be a greater duty than to act

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together and bring peace to all under heaven?

A poem by Emperor Tenchi:

In the autumn field,
in a (make-shift) harvest hut
a tattered thatch –
dew soaking through
my sleeves.¹⁵¹

Thus we can envisage how caring and benevolent our rulers have been towards us, their subjects. Truly, I cannot help but to be moved to tears in this regard.

Now here is a poem that typifies the tenderness and refinement of our ancestors' heart:

Fortress-strong,
great palace – its courtiers,
so leisurely, aren't they,
decorating their heads with cherry blossoms?
And so the day goes by.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ 崇神: Sūjin or Sujin. The first *great king* 大王 who instituted levies according to *Kojiki*.

¹⁴⁹ [現]人神: [ara]hitogami is a divinity (*kami*) who appears in this world as a human. The term is also used to denote the emperor.

¹⁵⁰ 玄(lit. the color of dark sky) black is the color of Heaven in Chinese mythology. In the *Daodejing* and elsewhere it is usually rendered as “mysterious”, “unfathomable”. Coupled with the glyph 功 it denotes mysterious merits accrued from the actions of divinities.

¹⁵¹ *Gosenshū* 302; *Ogura Hyakunin Isshū* 1, etc. かりほ pivots 仮庵 and 刈穂. Allusive variation on *Man'yōshū* 2174, *Shin Kokinshū* 454; anon.

Indeed, it expresses fully the relaxed carefree state of mind.

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As for the poems that extol the beauty of the country, a poem by Mibu no Tadamine reads:

The spring has come
they say – is that why
mists would conceal
the peaks of fair Yoshino
from the view this morning?¹⁵³

A poem by an anonymous author:

Before I shed this body,
empty as a cicada shell,
I wish to see
the cherry blossoms
on the Mount of Storms.¹⁵⁴

Through these poems, one can experience the supreme beauty and gentleness of the scenery. Could anyone born in such a peerless paradisiacal country – a place not to be found anywhere else on Earth – not possess feelings of reverence toward this country's nature? Is there anyone who, in looking up to those graceful, sincere and kind-hearted ancestors, would not simultaneously arouse the essential spirit of justice and noble purity?

¹⁵² *Shin Kokinshū* 104, attr. to Yamabe no Akahito. *Man'yōshū* 1887/1883, anon., has *plum blossoms* instead and other minor variations. ももしきの(百磯城の/百敷の) is the *utamakura* for the sovereign's palace. Originally referred to Shikishima area of Yamato, where the capital of Emperor Sujin was located.

¹⁵³ *Shūishū* 1, *Wakan Rōeishū* 8 (both comp. by Fujiwara no Kintō), etc.

¹⁵⁴ うつせみの, written in the poem as 空蟬の(lit. empty cicada shell) is an epithet for evanescent existence of human body, also written as 現身. Mount of Storms 嵐山, a mountain in Western Kyoto famous for its cherry blossoms; the title of a popular Noh play by Konparu Zempō 金春禅鳳(1454-1532?), in which an imperial messenger 勅使 transplants the cherry trees from Yoshino to Arashiyama. As he is about to go flower viewing, a tree protecting deity and Zaōgongen 蔵王権現(a wrathful manifestation of Sakyamuni) appear and praise the flowers. Both deities then swear to protect the trees. Gaston Renondeau, "Arashiyama," *France-Asie* 166, March-April (1961). The selection of poems is likely prompted by Chiba's familiarity with the Noh play. Also cf. KK3.

Most importantly, the people of Japan are graced with an unbroken imperial line of ten thousand years.

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No foreign nation has ever regarded us with contempt. We must at all times maintain our incessant delight in these foundations for the welfare of the family institution¹⁵⁵ in our country.

11. The type of faith the second generation needs.

Now we should discuss how to offer instruction in the practice of the warrior faith, that is, Bushidō, to the second generation of national subjects, our children. I would like to clarify and outline the difference between education and practical instruction in broad terms.

General education gives direction to students' natural talents and enlightens them. It is concerned with

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intellectual and emotional development. Practical instruction nurses and cures the students' spirit, and as such, it is concerned with development of willpower. Practical instruction must commence in early childhood, to provide a solid base for these achievements. Even if the process may appear overly strict, its goal is to cultivate an adamant will within children, an unshakeable sense of resolution with respect to faith. As such, in the practical instruction of children, we should invariably make use of the way of duty and valor, Bushidō, as it faithfully upheld in its essence by our warrior ancestors.

Thus I believe that the most expedient way to present and elucidate Bushidō to regular citizens – and not just the military – is to engrave upon their minds the true meaning of the *Imperial Rescript to the Military Personnel* in Five Articles that was issued by His Imperial Majesty as Commander-in-chief on January 4, Meiji 15 [1882].¹⁵⁶

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The Five Articles are: 1. Loyalty; 2. Courtesy; 3. Valor; 4. Faith; and 5. Frugality. To

¹⁵⁵ “Family institution”家族制度 here includes both the concept of the nation as a family-state (synchronic) and the concept of ancestral relations (diachronic).

¹⁵⁶ The official title is 陸海軍軍人に賜はりたる勅諭 (The *Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors*). Issued by Emperor Meiji on behalf of Gen. Yamagata Aritomo 山形有朋 (1838-1922) who had drafted the document. Cf. Gary D. Allinson, *The Columbia Guide to Modern Japanese History*, Columbia Guides to Asian History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 226-7.

adhere to them, as is also stated in the *Imperial Rescript*, “Sincere heart is of utmost importance[...]¹⁵⁷ If your heart is not sincere, then all the wise words and good deeds will amount to nothing more than exterior decorations – of what use can this possibly be? When your heart is sincere, everything can be accomplished. Moreover, these Five Articles are the Universal Way of Heaven and Earth and the eternal moral code for humanity. They are easy to practice and to uphold.” Thus, Bushidō must above all emphasize sincerity of heart.

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In His Majesty’s poems, we find:

Calm

are the waves and winds.

Yet even on a day like this

a sailor would not be off-guard

against his helm.

Lustrous

is the glitter

of our soldiers’

tempered swords.

Let it shine upon this world!

In this manner, little by little, we must foster sincerity of heart in the second generation of our nation; “never let them forget the war lessons from the past in peaceful times;”¹⁵⁸ keep the fighting spirit as lustrous as the glitter of a sword, and help them become good-tempered self-motivated learners.¹⁵⁹

12. The Method of cultivation of Warrior faith

Now, when considering how to apply the above principles, I strongly uphold the necessity of adopting the following three methods:

¹⁵⁷ A passage from the *Rescript* original is omitted here: 「抑此五ヶ条は我軍人の精神にして一の誠心は又五ヶ条の精神なり。」

¹⁵⁸ This idiom can also be translated as “forewarned is forearmed.”

¹⁵⁹ 進取 lit. means “take as you go” and denotes enterprise for self-motivated learning. Here, 気象=気立て, i.e., a good-tempered disposition.

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1. For spiritual cultivation, that is, for raising children in the Bushidō faith, Bushidō adages and maxims of all ages should be collected, edited, and published in textbooks to distribute to elementary schools throughout the country.
2. For physical cultivation, that is, for the development of physical strength in children, traditional Japanese martial arts, namely the sword, spear and halberd, must become a subject of instruction in all elementary schools across the nation. However, soft and dull arms must be selected in order to eliminate the possibility of harm.
3. In keeping with the previous two articles, specialist instructors must be recruited in order to offer the both modes of practical instruction.

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All specialist instructors must obtain a special trainer license, however.

The first article, that is, spiritual cultivation, or raising children in the Bushidō faith, is grounded in the ideals of this country's foundation for historical reasons. We need to cultivate children's hearts while they are pure and innocent, modeling that cultivation on the austere character of ancient warriors, the heroes of our nation and our ancestors, who possessed noble and pure intentions. A child is just like a white sheet of paper. Whether we write on it with thick, thin or colored ink, it takes it up all the same.

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Thus, implanting the austere Bushidō faith in childhood is exactly like applying thick ink to a white sheet of paper such that the writing can be clearly seen.

At this point, I need to give a brief explanation with regards to the source of Bushidō faith, i.e. loyalty and patriotism.

13. The Explanation of Loyalty and Patriotism.

When the Great Goddess Amaterasu bestowed the Three Treasures upon her august descendant, Ninigi no Mikoto, she commanded: "The Country of One Thousand Five Hundred Autumns of Fair Rice Ear Reed Plains is the land upon which my descendants shall reign. My august grandchild, thou shalt settle there and rule. Proceed! May thy

precious dynasty prosper and endure forever upon Heaven and Earth.”¹⁶⁰ The Great Goddess also made the following command: “Receive this mirror as my spirit indeed, and worship it as if thou werest in my presence.”¹⁶¹ Such are the two great imperial precepts. In addition, there are the model words of the Ōtomo’s ancestors who avowed:

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“Should on the sea we go,
our corpses – water-sodden;
should on the mountains we go,
our corpses – grass-consumed.
By Your Majesty’s side
die we shall.

Look back we shall not!”

And also:

“Obeying His Majesty’s orders
I bid farewell to my wife –
though saddening it is,
I let the feeling of manly courage overtake me,
get dressed and
take my leave...”¹⁶²

The main subject of these valiant locutions, the fundamental spirit of national polity, is condensed in the following two words: loyalty and patriotism.

14. The need to develop physical strength.

One more issue remains to be discussed at this point, namely, that of developing fitness. Regardless of how utterly loyal and patriotic one may be, if one’s body is weak, it will be of no use whatsoever.

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¹⁶⁰ For an alternative translation, cf. W. G. Aston, *Nihongi; Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697* (Rutland, Vt.: C.E. Tuttle Co., 1972), 77.

¹⁶¹ For an alternative translation, cf. Donald L. Philippi, *Kojiki* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969), 140.

¹⁶² *Man’yōshū* 4422/1398. Composed by Ōtomo no Yakamochi on the 19th of the second month Tenpyō-Shōhō 7 (755 C.E.)

Not only will such a person be useless to the nation, but also one cannot hope to obtain happiness as an individual if one lacks fitness at the outset. Bodily weakness will bring discomfort in daily life, inducing the lethargy of the spirit, and as a result the weak person will be unfit to meet the demands of social competition and work standards. He will ultimately bring the trouble to his home, being unable to manage his household either. Moreover, as Western philosophy submits, a happy life depends on physical wellbeing: an ageless maxim indeed.

In this light, let me illustrate this point with pertinent examples from the very origins of physical culture.

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In ancient India, long before Śākyamuni,¹⁶³ Brahmins in training would always remain indoors studying. They paid no heed to physical exercise. Consequently, when time came to complete their training, many of them met with sudden deaths – all their efforts culminated in failure. Then, people became aware for the first time of the need for physical training, and began to do invigorating exercises. As a result, later ages saw the development of such techniques as the Eighteen Massage Powers and Twelve Brahmin Methods.¹⁶⁴

A look back in history shows that ancient heroes such as Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar were all leaders of armies of tens and hundreds of thousands,

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who covered hundreds, thousands of miles on their expeditions – people of those days all possessed mighty physical strength. Others, such as Napoleon Bonaparte I, Otto von Bismarck, Tokugawa Ieyasu, Katō Kiyomasa,¹⁶⁵ Uesugi Kenshin, and Takeda Shingen, all possessed great physical strength, too. Napoleon once commanded a military campaign

¹⁶³ Siddhārtha Gautama (ca 500 BCE), founder of Buddhism.

¹⁶⁴ 按摩十八勢, 婆羅門十二法 are examples of *daoyin* 導引 massage and exercise techniques first developed in China perhaps as early as Warring States period (403-221 B.C.E.). Chiba's source might have been any of the Chinese life-extension manuals circulating in the Meiji period, e.g., the *Laolaohengyan* 老老恆言 written by Cao Tingdong 曹庭棟 in 1773. This text systematizes the earlier sources such as the Five Animal Patterns 五禽戲 attributed to Hua Tuo 華佗(142-219), Eight Brocades 八段錦, Massage Powers 按摩勢, Brahmanic Methods 婆羅門法, etc., all of these are considered as classics of *daoyin* massage and stretching methods. Cf. the popularized edition: Tingdong Cao 曹庭棟 and Ryūkichi Endō 遠藤隆吉, *Kyōge Iden Itsugo Kun Yaku* 經外遺伝逸語訓訳 (Hakubutsukan 博文館, 1911).

¹⁶⁵ 加藤清正(1562-1611), a warrior-leader of the early Edo period, supporter of Tokugawa Ieyasu.

on a horseback for three days and nights without repose. Is this not proof of his physical strength?

Today, however, in our city of Tokyo, statistics for the physical examination for yearly conscription show a 10-15% increase in disqualification rates with each passing year.

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I hear that the authorities have expressed their deepest concern with the situation and are taking countermeasures. Ultimately, the cause of this clearly lies in the negligence toward physical training on the part of the youths as well as their fathers and older brothers.

Physical education or fitness development provides the foundation for happy living. However, we need to make a choice concerning which method of physical education is the most efficient. This is the focal point for comparative theories of Western artistic gymnastics¹⁶⁶ and martial arts indigenous to Japan. If I may offer an unbiased opinion in this regard, gymnastics-type exercises induce a balanced overall physical development,

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while martial arts-type exercises generally increase the muscular strength of the arms, waist and hips. Therefore, seen from the developmental perspective, gymnastics would be preferable. Nonetheless, to develop explosive muscular power and to increase physical agility and reaction speed, martial arts would definitely be more suitable.

Martial arts-type exercises have yet another advantage: because they foster a combat-oriented competitive mindset, they thus encourage a drive to advance courageously a will to embrace challenges. Providing an extraordinary impetus to the spirit, they indirectly promote the development of an entrepreneurial spirit. Hence, Japanese martial arts should be practiced in combination with gymnastics-type exercises.

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Above all, however, Japanese martial arts, both swordsmanship and jujutsu, require cultivation of the spirit, which makes the combined use of these two exceedingly beneficial. This is because, while jujutsu is concerned with defense, swordsmanship is concerned with attack. Such defensive and attacking exercises are an absolute necessity for producing the vitality that harmoniously balances mental and physical energies.

¹⁶⁶ Artistic gymnastics using gymnastics apparatuses developed by F.L. Jahn (1778-1852) gradually gained popularity in the Meiji period.

(Caution) The innermost secrets of budō expounded below delve into the inner workings of the innumerable transformations underlying all human actions. An average reader is encouraged to peruse these instructions repeatedly. My earnest hope is that their real meanings be properly comprehended.

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15. Mysteries of Swordsmanship.

15. 1. Views and concepts of budō.

15.1.1. [Martial] arts practitioners need to know their losing points and no-winning points. To know these is to know the winning points. A losing point is in fact a winning point. A no-winning point is in fact a losing point.

Losing points reside in one's self. No-winning points reside in the opponent.¹⁶⁷ He who attempts to win for himself does so because he does not know his losing points. He who attempts to win despite his losing points does so because he does not know his winning points.

There is no losing without a no-winning point; there is no winning without a losing point.¹⁶⁸

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In perfect victory there is a perfect defeat; in perfect defeat there is perfect victory.

While winning, know the losing point; while losing know the winning point. This is the highest level of the art.

Concealing my techniques and principles, I gain insight into my opponent's techniques and principles. Observing the opponent's moves, I must make adjustments accordingly.

15.1.2. Stances have five elements:¹⁶⁹ heaven, middle, earth, *yin*, and *yang*. Within

¹⁶⁷ The rhetoric of the text in subsequent chapters hints that the so-called "losing point" is the need to lose one's ego. Once this is achieved, there will be no further defeats. Thus the losing point turns into a winning point. A no-winning point refers to a given superiority of the opponent, which can be dealt with strategically. But when it becomes apparent, it usually means that the opponent wins.

¹⁶⁸ In other words, when someone is technically superior over his/her opponent, he or she wins, but the ultimate victory cannot be attained without ridding of one's ego.

¹⁶⁹ 五行 here seems to be an ad hoc category since the term is usually associated with the five elements of Chinese cosmology: wood, fire, earth, metal, and water. The *five variants* 五変 probably refers to these.

each of these there are yet again five variants. The transmission of antiquity divided stances into *yin* and *yang*. [The movement of] the body mediates [the movement of] the sword; [the position of] the sword mediates [the position of] the body. For instance, a *yang* stance contains transformation in *yin*, a *yin* stance contains transformation in *yang*. Therefore in stances there is no *yin-yang* disbalance. These principles should be applied regardless of what one is doing or thinking. The transmission has no preferred stance.

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It is one's self that decides to use one stance or another. The one who desires to make exclusive use of a stance considers only external gains, and doing so he commits an internal error. He is said "to be transfixed on a stance." Mistakenly transfixed on a stance, one might win if the position matches that of his opponent, but one will lose immediately if it does not. This is due to the lack of internality and reliance on externality. The Stance¹⁷⁰ is originally formless: it contains neither externalities nor internalities, neither matches nor mismatches, neither advantages nor disadvantages. [Formless stance] protects the whole body. This is the stage of mutual unity of the sword and the mind. Thus there is no *yin* in a *yin* stance; there is no *yang* in a *yang* stance. [Acting at the] "lightning speed," the mind takes no premeditated form. This is called "formless stance." The learners should cherish these mysteries and train accordingly.

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15.1.3. Enticing power does not entail change. To reveal it clearly, it is said that technique and principle should not be altered. To take advantage of the opponent without changing [one's stance] is the overpowering force. This is called "the stage of transformation." Quieting the enticing power, counter thousand-fold changes; moving the overpowering force, respond to a multitude of transformations. Thus one matches the opponent using his enticing power, and wins the battle using his overpowering force.¹⁷¹ Enticing power and overpowering force are two [different forces], but [actually] they are

¹⁷⁰ 構 is both a given stance and also the attitude of mental preparedness. When the latter is the case, I capitalize it as the Stance. Chiba refers to it as the "formless stance" 無形の構.

¹⁷¹ 威<い>: lit. to coerce somebody into doing something, refers to the strategy of enticing the opponent to attack a feigned opening, e.g. making the sword deviate slightly from the center line. Usually such a maneuver is accompanied by a "dynamic pause", i.e., alert readiness for a counterattack. An alternative translation is "centripetal force." 勢<せい> here stands for pressuring power and is synonymous to せめ. E.g., the swordsman steadily approaches his opponent causing the latter to commit to a rush move. This might be glossed as centrifugal force.

one and the same. They are one and the same, but [their applied aspects] are different. Enticing power contains overpowering force; overpowering force contains enticing power. The unaltered whole body controls ten directions. Thus there will be no opponent to fear and no self doubt.

When one reaches this stage, his enticing power will issue by itself, and his overpowering force will naturally complement it.

15.1.4. “Projection” is like [the capacity of] the moon to project [its own image] upon the water surface. It is the stage of *bōshin*¹⁷² – the stage of contact.

“Reflection” is like [the capacity of] the water to reflect the [image of] the moon. This is the stage of *zanshin*¹⁷³ – the stage of separation.

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When [this principle] is explained it is called “the water-moon.” When it is taken to the level of technique, it is called “projection-reflection.” It also implies the way the eyes look about, what is called “the gaze.”¹⁷⁴ To commit one’s mind to defense is called *projection*. To use a technique for attack is called *reflection*.¹⁷⁵ Distance is of no concern to the water-moon. The one who attempts to deliberately use the distance for an attack will lose his projection instead. He becomes transfixed in projection. The moon projects its image upon the water surface in the state of no-mind. The water reflects the moon in the state of no-thought. If there is no thinking on the inside, the technique is aptly applied on the outside. When no interfering thoughts arise, one will aptly reach the state of the water-moon with his whole body.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² 棒心: lit. “rod-like mind”, the utter concentration of the mind along the line of attack.

¹⁷³ 残心: lit. “remaining mind”. It signifies a state of readiness against a counterattack after having executed a technique, usually expressed as a short pause to follow a completed technique. To rephrase, *zanshin* is to never lower one’s mental guard.

¹⁷⁴ 目付. It is typical to find metaphors for gaze in the Edo period swordsmanship texts comparing it to moonlight, in that the eyes should be relaxed and not focused on anything in particular in order to have as wide angle of vision as possible. The moonlight is dimmer than a torch, but it illuminates all. Moreover it cannot be manipulated.

¹⁷⁵ The order is purposefully reversed here: the best defense (reflection) is an attack (projection). But once either one is deliberated, the spontaneity is lost. Thus this order may be read as a symbol for an “ideal order,” spontaneity, where the opposites are undifferentiated. Technically speaking, striking an opening is *projection*, a deflecting counter-attack is *reflection*. Emphasis added for clarity.

¹⁷⁶ 全体: “a whole body” or a “complete body” refers to the unity of the body, speech, mind, and action, as well as one’s weapon.

15.1.5. When gain¹⁷⁷ comes prior to the technique and when the body precedes the sword, such conduct is called “disorder.” It is caused by external benefit seeking.

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Adapting [yourself] to [the opponent’s] movement should not be accomplished by thinking and calculation. When you take gain as a natural outcome, you will make adjustments without thinking, and transform without calculation. The one who receives the transmission [of the art] will not make gain his priority, and will thus gain mastery of oneness. He will pay heed only to his own response [to a given situation] as his only gain. He will not succumb to thinking and calculation. With a single-pointed mind transcending chaos, he will never doubt his victory. In so doing [the practitioner] will attain the stage of his original destiny.

Once the transmission of the art is internalized, it yields a truly victorious performance. Taken to a higher level, there will no longer be any notion of single-mindedness, or any distinct single gain to pay heed to. Strike with inside and outside as one. No more good and evil. Don the armor of one-mind and counter a thousand blades and ten thousand swords. Control the ten directions and kill or grant life at will. Once single-mindedness is actualized, it is the stage of method-gain sameness.¹⁷⁸

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A thousand changes stem from oneness.¹⁷⁹ This oneness is the no-form, no-mind body as a whole. To take water as an example: water has no form. Therefore, it can fit into square and round containers.

Practitioners should receive the transmission without prioritizing gains or their own bodies.¹⁸⁰ As the oral transmission has it: “sword-and-body first-and-last.”

¹⁷⁷ 利 here means both gain/benefit as in 利益, and victory as in 勝利. To sum up, this passage is an advice to concentrate solely on one’s action for its own sake, and not to seek victory or a material gain. In so doing the practitioner entrusts his life to the teaching 伝 and to his true destiny 本分, thus gaining a real victory. This true gain cannot be deliberately sought, but can only be achieved via body-mind-technique unity 一. (Cf. Slingerland (2003) for an in-depth analysis of *wuwei* in Confucianism and Daoism.)

¹⁷⁸ 事利異ならざる. 事: technique/method. For instance, when a swordsman executes a cut, the result is inevitably a decisive blow to his opponent. “What you see is what you get.”

¹⁷⁹ A paraphrase of 易經.

¹⁸⁰ That is, both ideas of self-preservation and an outward benefit must be forsaken. The cryptic passage 劍体前後 signifies “total unity of body and mind (and its object). A complementary reading is also possible in this context: complete self-immersion in the art of swordsmanship. The saying probably originates from Chinese military classics: “We carry the swords at all times...”

This art is a method of gaining a sharp blade.¹⁸¹ When there is a sword, there is a method; when there is a method, there is a gain. Mind is the source of methods. Body is the source of the sword.¹⁸² That hidden causes ripen into manifest ends is a fallacy. Truth is a certain victory, fallacy is a certain defeat. If gain precedes the method, even the sharpest sword will not cut down a man. Therefore, the foundations must be rectified and mastered through and through. The gains and losses of actual performance depend on the accrued merit [of successful mastery of the basics.]

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15.1.6. The one who concentrates on the outer aspects of a technique reacts to what presents itself from the outside. The one who uses the internal aspects concentrates on the inside. Then controlling the internal aspects, he uses the external. In this manner, the causality of internal to external is maintained, and favored techniques tend to ensue while the disliked ones are likely to be avoided. Depending on how the opponent engages and feigns, [one should] put pressure on the center to win at the periphery,¹⁸³ or else put pressure on the periphery to win at the center, or even put pressure on both the center and the extremity to win at the both spots. Thus putting pressure on the technique, one protects the gains,¹⁸⁴ putting pressure on the gain one protects the technique. If one attacks both internally and externally, the error will arise in front; if one defends both externally and internally, the error will arise in back. Therefore, attack while defending, defend while attacking.¹⁸⁵ Attack is not merely attacking, defense is not just defending. There is no victory without both present simultaneously.

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In the transmission this is called “remaining and not remaining.” The learner should rectify the center and peripheries with this point in mind.

¹⁸¹ The pun here is that the ambiguity of 利 is pushed one step further. Gain/victory is paired with yet another meaning of *ri*, i.e. “sharpness”. The allusion here is made to the *Hanfeizi* (難一/4), 「吾矛之利、於物無不陷也。」

¹⁸² The idea that a weapon is an extension of a fighter’s body comes from the *Sunzi Bingfa*. The passage as a whole underscores the mutual spontaneity of causes and effects as opposed to the chain of causation, and is thus a form of critique of instrumentalist approach to swordsmanship.

¹⁸³ Center and extremity 本末 here refer to the internal and external aspects of techniques.

¹⁸⁴ Regarding 利(gain, benefit), in addition to what I already indicated above, here it is likely to signify the preferences, i.e., favored places of attack, as well as well-guarded weak spots.

¹⁸⁵ This cryptic passage refers to the idea that a swordsman ought to always maintain balance between inner and outer movements without jumping into extremes of either yin or yang (one-sided attack or defense).

15.1.7. To gain directly using a technique is called “guarding the beginning,” while to present a gain as a means is called “guarding the end.” If one pauses in the beginning, it means there is a gain at the end. If the end is protected, it means that there is no gain in the beginning. The important point in swordsmanship is not to stop either at the beginning or the end or to have beginnings and ends depend upon the opponent. One does not stick to either of them.

The stage of “sameness of the beginning and end” is one of the absence of beginnings and ends. When there is a beginning, an end is simultaneously present. When there is an end, a beginning is there, too. It does not matter whether the movement is strong or weak, light or heavy. This is how the technique is one yet makes two. While the gains are two, they are one all the same.¹⁸⁶ Whenever you gaze into the sky, the sky is there instantaneously. Liken yourself to an unmoving mountain.

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When you make a move, do so like sparks from a flint.¹⁸⁷ Stopping neither at the beginning nor at the end even for a single moment of thought, reach ten thousand things. Since neither the beginning nor the end is sought, transformations will happen spontaneously. Moreover, since the technique issues from one’s whole body and mind, the one who takes advantage of the beginning, gains the beginning, while the one who takes advantage of the end, defends the end and gains the end regardless of how strong or weak, light or heavy the technique might be, or whether it is done while advancing or retreating, or whether the range is long or short. Therefore the one who makes the technique a part of body and mind has nothing to look for outside. When it is not sought elsewhere, one’s mind moves not an inch. This is called not stopping at the beginning or end. The one who achieved mastery over this art does not stop at the beginning and let the initiative be taken; while defending he does not stop inside, and as he defends the gain, the gain of the technique is not stolen [by the opponent.]

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Revealing no form when form is sought, revealing form when no-form is sought is

¹⁸⁶ The “beginning” here is attacking the opponent while he is *beginning* to execute a technique. “End” is counterattacking after parrying. To this end, the text says that the targets are multiple, while the technique, i.e., using the advantage of openings that the opponent presents at either stage, is one.

¹⁸⁷ These expressions are a paraphrase of 「侵掠如火(雷霆)、不動如山。」 in *Sunzi Bingfa*.

called “the stage of unity of crooked and straight.” The one who gains victory by abandoning the notions of “technique” and “gain” is the true master of the art. This is the quintessence of the art of war. Ultimately, without leaving a trace, it is obtained within one’s heart-mind; the hand moves accordingly. Mind is mind, technique is technique, one’s self is one’s self, and opponent is opponent. Whatever one faces, one seeks nothing. With only spontaneous merit, he uses the art when there is need, and abandons it when there is none. He attains “the wondrous stage” of the art.¹⁸⁸

15.1.8. There are body and function in an initiative. Attacking without preliminary movement and form is called “the body of an initiative.” Attacking when preliminary moves are made and forms are revealed is called “the function of an initiative.”¹⁸⁹ To take the body initiative is to attack from an empty spot and to defend with a given form stealing the opponent’s gain, breaking through his setup.

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Doing thus means using the apparent gain while keeping a technique hidden. To take the function initiative is to attack with a given form and to defend from an empty spot breaking through the opponent’s setup, stealing his technique. One makes the technique apparent while the real gain remains hidden [until the definitive blow.]¹⁹⁰ If someone acts haphazardly trying to win without knowing the principles and techniques of body-function attack and defense, he will stick out his head only to be hit and stretch out his hand only to be cut down. This point should be well practiced in training.

15.1.9. There are two kinds of counterattack: one using the empty spot, the other one using a given form. When you wish to win over the opponent’s empty spot, you have to kill the opponent’s intended form [or technique]. In order to take advantage of the opponent’s assumed form, you have to discern his aim and destroy his empty spot. When the attack comes, counter at the moment he is recovering his balance while his move stops at the periphery.

¹⁸⁸ This paragraph talks about a master’s complete detachment – a rhetoric similar to descriptions of Buddhist enlightenment.

¹⁸⁹ 体用(body and function) here are borrowings from Buddhist terminology that in simple terms refer to emptiness and its various spontaneous manifestations.

¹⁹⁰ Technically these two points can be demonstrated by presenting an opening and finishing with a *nukiwaza*, i.e., maneuvering outside the target range while the opponent is attacking and countering his attack at the same time (body initiative); an attack on the opponent’s position followed by a second attack that would hit the target, as in a *kote-men* combination (function initiative).

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If he does not regain balance, control the movement of his center. The opponent who moves from his center with extremities at rest should be taken advantage by controlling his center. When the opponent's center is upright yet his extremities are in disarray, he has to be cut down at the extremities. When the opponent's center and extremities are both in motion, which is a big mistake, take advantage of this bluff. When his center and extremities are both at rest, which means he does not reach out,¹⁹¹ take advantage of his [actual] state of engagement. There is engagement in feigning and feigning in engagement. The great bluff is the same as not reaching out; not reaching out is like the great bluff. The oral transmission says: "he follows forms and chases manifestations." In other words, one gets stuck in a form. One loses to an initiated attack. Whatever follows is of no use. Therefore, counter the form and kill the manifestations. There are two types of counters. One has to do with an empty spot; the other one has to do with a manifested move. The prior is to counter with a kill, while the latter is to kill with a counter.¹⁹² At this juncture, the distinction between the initiative and the counterattack cannot be made. The initiative becomes a counterattack.

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The counterattack becomes the initiative. The distinctions between the sword and the body, between the strengths and weaknesses, center and periphery all become obliterated in one beneficial action. Having arrived at the sameness of technique and principle, one becomes equipped with a technique that breaks through the circle of initiatives and counterattacks. This wondrous principle is hard to learn. It truly belongs to the mind-to-mind transmission.¹⁹³

15.1.10. Distance is important in a match. When I want to make use of it, the opponent does so, too. As I distance myself, he approaches. Whether one is brave or cowardly, slow or fast, in his initiative and counterattack is a matter of life and death. Hence, proper distance cannot be compromised even for the space of a single hair breadth. Without regard for peril one must take advantage of proper distance thus arriving at the

¹⁹¹ 不及: lit. "does not reach out" refers to mental and physical stupor. It is not the same as 不動.

¹⁹² What seems to be a play of dichotomies here is again a cryptic way of pointing at (1) outmaneuvering, and (2) at a counter-maneuver, as in *nukiwaza* and *kaeshiwaza* of modern kendo.

¹⁹³ *Ishin denshin* 以心伝心, "mind-to-mind transmission" is a borrowing from Zen terminology.

stage of single-handed control over life and death.

I do not breach the distance, nor do I stall in waiting [for the opponent to do so]. I establish the proper distance and remain at this level. This is called “life taking blade and life giving sword.”¹⁹⁴ There is no difference between being close or far in terms of distance.

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There is no difference between breaching the distance and anticipating. The practitioner of the art should maintain proper distance without waiting for changes to occur. Nor should he let others reach him. Instead he should quickly gain control of proper distance.¹⁹⁵

15.1.11. I turn my opponent’s techniques into my own techniques. I turn his gains into mine. This is called “the mocking bird stage”. Strength for strength, weakness for weakness, a strike for a strike, a thrust for a thrust: counter each and every one of a thousand changes this way. This is called “facing the opponent’s technique.”¹⁹⁶

Weakness for strength, strength for weakness, a block for a strike, an empty spot for a block: accommodate each and every one of the manifold transformations of gains in this manner. This is called “accommodating the opponent’s gains.”¹⁹⁷

Face a committed advance by engaging in return, and accommodate a feigned advance by feigning. When the opponent deftly feigns an impossible technique, do likewise.

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The mastery of the art is to turn a committed move into a feigned one [immediately, should it miss the target], and to show a feigned move, but turn it into a committed one [immediately, should an opening present itself]. Therefore, facing an opponent, first pretend to be a fool and appear [as if you are about] to lose. This is a stratagem. Truly, as the saying goes, “warfare is the way of deceit.”¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ *Satsujin tō katsujin ken* 殺人刀活人剣 is also an expression from Zen narrative genre found in *Hekiganroku* (Ch. *Biyanlu*) 碧巖錄 and elsewhere.

¹⁹⁵ 間 refers to proper distance in which the swordsman can execute his technique unobstructed by his opponent. Hence, rather than simply a spatial concept it has to do with both proper timing and perfect control of a whole set of technical repertoire, both in short and long range.

¹⁹⁶ If the strengths of both opponents are equal, then this tactic can be used to confuse the opponent and to lower his guard.

¹⁹⁷ This tactic is based on the *yin-yang* theory and is often recommended to use against stronger opponents to exhaust them and thus create an opening for a definitive attack.

¹⁹⁸ This paragraph as a whole is a paraphrase of *Sunzi Bingfa* 1.6. The maxim 「兵者、詭道也。」 is repeated verbatim (読み下し).

When you consider merit to be a spontaneous outcome – feigning and engaging are two sides of the same coin, and so are deceit and truth. This knowledge must be obtained only through self discovery.

15.1.12. The gain of such as art comes of using one of my [techniques] and two of the opponent's. It is, for instance, to strike [in proper timing] having the opponent miss the target while I raise the sword to strike.¹⁹⁹ This is called using one out of two. To cut after having parried is called one for one or two for two.²⁰⁰ When you use the one-out-of-two, it is certain victory. Using one-for-one and two-for-two you sometimes win and sometimes lose. Trying to do both at the same time, you lose in a moment.

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Thousand-fold variations should be thoroughly covered in practice.

15.1.13. When one abandons manifold transformations of techniques, one relies instead on the gain of one single course of action. In other words, one reaches the stage of unchanging heart-mind. It is called “undistracted thought.” Thus, maneuvers are made depending on the opponent. The secret of countering a thousand blades with one sword lies in making use of the accumulated merit of practice. When the time comes to put this [knowledge] to the test, one ought to rely on the spontaneous manifestation of technique. This secret thereby obtained is thereby mastered only in one's mind. From the outset, let all the maneuvers happen naturally and strive to ascend to the stage of “a hundred battles and a hundred victories” with your whole being. What is called the stage of the single blade in kendo lies in selecting no particular skills, nor in getting involved with principles and technical nuances of manifold changes and transformations. It consists in the total victory before the opponent even conjures his principles and techniques, by making use of the single blade of unchanging one-pointed mind.

15.1.14. There is a distinction in kendo²⁰¹ between the long and the short [range.] At a long range I use the gap to expose [the enemy's] aim. At a short range I use that space to

¹⁹⁹ *Nukiwaza* 抜き技. A good example of this kind of technique is *kote-nuki men* 籠手抜き面, in which the kendoka tricks his opponent with a feigned opening of his wrist. And when the opponent strikes, at that precise moment the kendoka would raise his arms to strike his opponent's head having the latter hit the empty spot where the “opening” had been presented. This is a difficult technique that requires an impeccable sense of timing, or else the wrist opening is easily hit.

²⁰⁰ In other words parry-counter combinations can be executed only in response to opponent's attacks.

²⁰¹ Chiba, *Budō Hiroku* (1927: 11) and the earlier cluster of Ittōryū texts have 剣刀 and not 剣道 here.

project my aim. The differences of range ought to be quickly adapted to deploy projection and reflection.

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It applies both to my opponent and myself. It is not just a matter of who is superior at long range and who the other way round. Both conditions come down to one: assuming a given form and following through with a technique. It will be easy to maneuver if the form is mastered. The ease in maneuvering brings about a natural success. Thus left alone, the matter of distance no longer depends on the length of the sword or actual inches and yards. That said, if I fail to make use of the long range, I gain nothing. Conversely, if I make use even of a short range,²⁰² I will succeed. Going for long range, do not end up unable to change your technique into a short-range cut; going for a short range do not [become unbalanced or overextend] if you have to adapt a long range. This is called “the sameness of the long and the short.” However, if you end up consciously choosing one of the conditions and “measure” with your blade,

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your mind will become entangled in calculation, and you will thus lose the original heart-mind²⁰³ of the art. Your heart-mind is the sharpest sword. What does it have to do with range? For instance, even if you wield a dull sword that cannot cut flesh you will break bones with it. In this manner, even the dull sword finds its use. For the one who sharpens the sword of one-pointed calm and pure heart-mind, it matters little what kinds of weapons he might use: all become the sharpest swords. If the original sword is never separated from the body even for an instant, taking life or giving life become spontaneous matters. That said, the one who takes advantage of the long range wins over the one who falls short. When both are equal, one sometimes loses and sometimes wins. Yet sometimes the one who falls short wins, and the one who overreaches loses. In battles there are winners and losers, and it is all in accord [with the supreme principle]. He who does not

²⁰² In kendo, short-range techniques are much harder to execute, as both opponents end up pressuring each others' sword after a failed long-range attack.

²⁰³ 本心 in Neo-Confucianism is the original unadulterated heart that is able to grasp the supreme principle spontaneously. It becomes obscured by seeking profit and pursuing desires.

know his limitations²⁰⁴ obstinately desires a gain regardless of whether it is for the good or evil of others. This is against the Way. There are limitless outcomes of any given contest –

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such are the wondrous benefits²⁰⁵ of spontaneous nature. Sometimes there is victory, sometimes defeat, and yet too, total victory where defeat seemed imminent. Sometimes both parties die, yet sometimes both survive. There are no obvious certainties, nor are there any obscure uncertainties. There is no way of seeing whether you are going to win or lose. All are the wondrous benefits of spontaneous nature of the Heavenly Way. Thus if you do not think about the advantages and disadvantages of a contest, freeing yourself from life and death, and letting the advantages and disadvantages be decided by the will of Heaven, you will decapitate the great opponent – your own ego; and then the enemies in ten directions will disappear. When there is no opponent, how can you be defeated? Suppose there is someone who will come and challenge you. He will but destroy himself. Knowing this is wisdom, and also, virtue. Practicing it is valor, and also, art.

15.1.15. When both my opponent and I have discernment, both of us approach without thinking, both retreat without calculation. He does not approach where I want him to.

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When I approach, he defends himself. When I am like this, he is also the same: striking at an unexpected spot, reacting in an unpredictable manner. There is no end to these infinite changes and transformations. Applying the principle through a variety of moves, both he and I are one and the same body. He thinks what I think; he calculates my calculations. The unity of technique, principle, movement and stillness is like projecting one's reflection in a mirror. At this stage, there is no technique with which to win and no principle to be known.

²⁰⁴ 分限: limitations of both social status and personal ability; denotes a certain reliance of the Confucian idea of destiny 命.

²⁰⁵ 妙利: “wondrous benefits.” 妙 in Buddhism denotes spontaneity, an absence of relationship between codependent origination and enlightenment.

Whenever you want to win, you will lose. Whenever you do not win, you will immediately lose. The fact that you do not win means you have not [mastered] the art. An adept²⁰⁶ must keep this in mind.

15.2. Formlessness of Swordsmanship Methods

The Great Limit is originally limitless. Water yields to square and round vessels and assumes their forms,

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but originally it is formless. And so it is with the methods of swordsmanship. Although at the beginner stage one focuses on stances and learns how to perform techniques, the Stance is originally formless. Accordingly, just like the water that yields to the vessels and assumes their forms, the Stance also assumes various forms in response to the opponent. Indeed there are various examples of stances depending on a style of swordsmanship such as upper, middle (or “clear sight”) and lower level stances; side stance and its reverse; *kasumi* stance; *yin-yang* stances, and so forth. Yet they are all wondrous workings of the multitude of changes and transformations that stem from the One Function.²⁰⁷

Furthermore, there are various names of battle formation methods – the Eight Battle Formations: Fish Scales, Crane Wings, Flock of Geese, Spear, Bow, Crescent, Yoke Swing, and Five Agents; Mutual Confrontation; Three Siege Maneuvers; Left-Right Encircling Maneuvers; Shapes of One一 and Nine九; Boar-swinging Dragon; Endless Snake,²⁰⁸ Long Snake, and so forth; and all these forms are assumed in response to the changes of the opponent formations. However, when someone makes only forms without knowing the Principle, he is ignorant of the Principle of changes and transformations. As a common saying has it, “he makes a Buddha

²⁰⁶ 修る者: Martial arts training is usually thought of by its practitioners as a form of life-long cultivation of character 修行.

²⁰⁷ 一機: “One Function” is the Formless Stance. All stances are its transitory and ever changing expressions. Cf. II.1.2. Also cf. II.1.5, which contains an explanation that the spontaneous uncalculating state of mind is the “mastery of oneness”, and thus characterizes the Stance as spontaneous mental presence, ready to react impartially to a given stimulus, e.g., an attack.

²⁰⁸ 常蛇: some *naginata* styles name a stance this way. Also known as 山水の構.

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image without putting a soul in it.”²⁰⁹

For instance, if the formation is suddenly attacked by forces assaulting from the rear or along the right or left flanks, the head force regroups to the rear, or one flank reinforces the other. Strategists must be constantly aware of these [responses]. This is called “nipping mutability in the bud.”²¹⁰ Therefore, always assume a form in response to the opponent, and not by yourself.

A *shōgi* player has several pawns – the assaulting force – to play with.²¹¹ Captured pawns become part of the capturer’s force. So it is with the art of swordsmanship. Although the way the forms are used is a received tradition, these forms, too, are just like the standard moves of *shogi* pieces. [Ultimately] form and no-form are all the same.²¹² The one who becomes aware of this principle will spontaneously mature in his understanding of the art, and thus he will do the techniques without doing the techniques. This is verily called a “true technique”. Should you come to the realization of this principle after your hands and feet have become accustomed [to the techniques], such knowledge will surely become your shortcut to mastery.

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The matter of assaulting forces and regular troops depends upon the opponent, while the matter of committing and feigning depends upon yourself – the outcome [of the battle] depends on how well the belly²¹³ of each side is settled. Is this not what the ancients used to say?

²⁰⁹ An expression that stands for “form without content.” 魂: anima.

²¹⁰ Cf. 「愚者闇於成事、知者見於未萌。」 “The stupid do not even understand an affair when it has been completed, but the wise see it even before it has sprouted.” *Shang Jun Shu* 商君書(更法:3), Yang Shang and J. J. L. Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang; a Classic of the Chinese School of Law; Translated from the Chinese with Introduction and Notes* (London: A. Probsthain, 1928).

²¹¹ 将棋 is a chess game. The number of pawns is nine.

²¹² Every technique transmitted in a tradition is a snapshot of a higher degree of mastery, i.e., the ability to respond effortlessly and immediately to the moves of the opponent, and use his/her maneuvering to one’s own advantage unselfconsciously.

²¹³ Lit. 至臍: “arriving at the navel” refers to the assumption that the true human strength originates in the energy center called *tanden* (Ch. *dantian* 丹田), located in the center of the body around the navel. When proper posturing is mastered, a martial arts practitioner can lower his/her center of gravity to this area and thus execute techniques much more effectively than when the center of gravity is located elsewhere.

15.3. Proper timing in a match

When both opponents face each other in a match, endless variations of movements may arise. Once the state of anticipation in the middle of an attack and attack in the middle of anticipation is actualized, [the practitioner] arrives at the unity of attack and anticipation. Maturing in technical skill, [the practitioner] arrives at the principle. Mastering the principle, he arrives at the [perfection of] technique. The unity of technique and principle is thus embodied. In this manner, when one's belly is settled, his hits leave no trace, his actions make no shapes. As the saying goes, it is like striding on top of the nine heavens and strolling below the nine grounds.²¹⁴ Beyond the border of no-recollection and no-thought, no sound issues, and no odor comes forth. Ghosts and spirits would not visit this place.

As a matter of comparison, the mind is likened to a mirror in that it reflects objects. This is called the mind-mirror. If you face a mirror and try to attack, the attack cannot pass undetected. But if your mind projects itself,

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it can hardly be called a real mind-mirror.

There is an old poem that Hanshan once addressed to Shide:²¹⁵

That you are holding that broom
while there is no dust to sweep
is in itself mind's dust,
is it not?

The following poem is Shide's response:

This broom

²¹⁴ Lit. "Nine Heavens and Nine Lands", a saying based on the *Sunzi Bingfa*: 不可勝者守也、可勝者攻也。守則不足、攻則有餘。善守者、藏于九地之下；善攻者、動于九天之上、故能自保而全勝也。The one who cannot win resorts to defensive tactics, while the one who can win takes the offensive. To be on the side of defense means to lack strength, while to attack is to have strength. He who is skilled in defense hides below the nine grounds; he who is skilled in attack moves forward from the top of nine heavens. Thus, [attacking] you can protect yourself and shall attain a complete victory. *SZBF*: 軍形 2.

²¹⁵ Hanshan 寒山 and Shide 拾得 (fl. ca 8th-9th cent. C.E.) are both famous Chan 禪 eccentrics who purportedly lived in the Tiantai Mountain region 天台山. There are numerous references to the dialogues of H. and S. in Japanese culture in general and in Japanese Zen in particular, e.g., ink paintings of H. and S. 寒山拾得圖, in which S. is often depicted with a broom. The poems below might have been taken from one of these sources. For example, see Sengai's ink painting at <http://record.museum.kyushu-u.ac.jp/sengai/sengai24.htm> Also cf. Hanshan and Pine Red, *The Collected Songs of Cold Mountain* (Port Townsend, Wash.: Copper Canyon Press, 2000). This book contains a variant of the broom story(p.7)

is for sweeping
the kind of dust
called “no dust to sweep.”

This interesting dialogue indicates the stage when the level of no-recollection is not yet reached. When there is a thing called “mirror,” it means there is still a concept of “a mirror.” To get rid of the mirror that reflects, and to be able to reflect is the highest mastery of the mind. As an old poem has it:

The Pond of Sarusawa –
the moon thinks not
of casting its reflection
upon the water
that thinks not of reflecting.²¹⁶

While such an account is surely that of someone who has achieved an exalted level, let me also provide an account of proper timing for striking down an opponent, in a manner suited for a general audience. To wit, when the following opportunities present themselves in a match, one should definitely strike:

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1. One should avoid the opponent’s committed moves, but strike at feigned ones.
2. Next one should strike the opponent using the discernment of the eye, and not the mind.
3. Strike when the opponent is indecisive.
4. Strike when the opponent freezes.²¹⁷

²¹⁶Sarusawa Pond 猿沢池 is located in the city of Nara 奈良, next to Kōfukuji Temple 興福寺. An *utamakura* and a highly appraised location for moon viewing (especially since the Muromachi period). A more widely known variant of this poem has Hirosawa Pond 広沢の池 (Kyoto) instead. The poem is attributed to an abdicated emperor 仙洞. According to Imamura, it is more likely that this poem was composed by a Shingon Priest Kanchō 寛朝 (916-998), a grandson of Emperor Uda, who had a temple (遍照寺) built on the shore of Hirosawa Pond. This poem first appears in *Tengu Geijutsuron* (巻二) as an expression of the spontaneous state of no-thought 無心自然. Yoshio Imamura 今村嘉雄, *Budōka Senshū* 武道歌撰集, vol. 1 上卷 (Daiichi Shobo 第一書房, 1989), 39; Vol 2: 61. Also cf. Stevens, *The Sword of No-Sword: Life of the Master Warrior Tesshu*, 153-4.

5. Strike when the opponent shouts in preparation for an attack instead of waiting for him to do his technique.

6. Strike instantaneously.

Also, there is a method of the Eight Conditions for a match:

1. You must act when the opponent is in the midst of preparation.

2. In a match, you must act according to the position of the opponent.

3. You must act when you discern your opponent's habits.

4. When the sword tips come into contact, you should pressure the opponent's attacking impulses with your mental power.²¹⁸

5. You must put yourself in a striking position such that your opponent will consider it too far for a strike, [6] while it will be close enough for you.²¹⁹

7. When the opponent is strong on the defense, you must use feigned and committed attacks.²²⁰

8. Regardless of how strong the opponent's hand is, dissipate the force and attack.²²¹

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In terms of military strategy, when you must attain victory over an opponent who is twice or three times stronger than you, it is a matter of great importance to retreat from the place of direct confrontation while striking at the opponent's weak spots in counterattack. In military strategy, too, there is no such thing as cutting down the opponent in a dramatic theatrical manner. You must think deeply over such matters as when to pursue and scatter the opponent, as well as when to retreat and counterattack: know these well.

²¹⁷ 居付: lit. "stuck on the spot" refers to a moment when a swordsman is either captivated by fear, or is calculating an attack. An experienced martial artist can detect these moments quite easily.

²¹⁸ In less figurative language, the tip of the sword pressure refers to rhythmical shaking of the sword at low amplitude alternated with pauses in order to cause the opponent to "freeze".

²¹⁹ A simple example of this is to maneuver to the side ready for a strike. The opponent will have to adjust his stance in response. This fraction of a second is the "short range" for the attacker, while the defender has a distance to cover – no matter how short – it sets him/her into a "long range".

²²⁰ That is to say, if one swordsman is stalling using defense in order to exhaust the other, the attacker would feign first to cause the defender to react, thus creating an opening for a different attack, to which he/she then commits.

²²¹ In contemporary kendo this technique is called *suriage* すりあげ. This technique is executed in proper timing, namely when one opponent is striking, the other one will raise his/her sword (turning the curve of the blade to the side) and make the opponent's sword slide against the curve deflected. The raised sword of the defender strikes in counterattack. Also 返し技 follows the same principle.

15.4. On the unity of mind, vital force, and power

The expanse of Heaven and Earth never extends beyond the Principle and vital force.²²² The cyclic progression of the four seasons never stops – it is caused by the configurations of vital force, which in turn depend on Principle. Man is born between Heaven and Earth receiving both the Principle and vital force. His heart-mind is the luminous essence of vital force. Therefore the heart-mind is in union with the perfect forces²²³ of Heaven and Earth; it thus abides in utmost sincerity and ultimate beauty. As in this old poem, the fragrance of cherry blossoms comes from the heart:

Cherries of Yoshino –
year after year
they blossom.
Split the trunk and see
where the flowers' fragrance is.²²⁴
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Vital force fills the body. With regard to the heart-mind – as in the case of soldiers who follow their general's command and move swiftly – when General Heart-Mind is tough, Soldier Body, full of force, will follow his general's order and move at once. To describe once again the working of the heart-mind by way of an analogy to chess, tapping

²²² 理氣: The Neo-Confucian concept of the Principle (Emptiness) and vital force (phenomena and the energy that binds them) echoes the Buddhist concepts of “emptiness and manifestation” 事理. It became the subject of heated metaphysical debates in the post-Zhuxi East Asian Confucian world. Originally synthesized by Zhuxi from the writings of the “five masters” of the Northern Song, i.e., Zhou Dunyi (1017-1073), Shao Yong (1011-1077), Zhang Zai (1020-1077), Cheng Hao (1032-1085), and Cheng Yi (1033-1107), this particular form of dualism encapsulates various forms of Daoist and Buddhist concepts to articulate a worldview of social norms and political functions. This paragraph is a typical description of the basics of Neo-Confucian metaphysics.

²²³ 正氣≠邪氣. When coupled with 理, 氣 is usually rendered as “Material Force”, but in other compounds it is normally rendered as “energy/(vital) force”. I opted to translate it as either (vital) force or energy in view of the author's discussion of mind-energy-body functions below.

²²⁴ This poem is attributed to Rankei Dōryū 蘭溪道隆 (Ch. Lanqi Daolong, 1213-78), the founding abbot of Kenchōji Temple 建長寺 in Kamakura. It figures prominently in martial arts writings, which liken the cherry flowers to techniques: as the flowers bloom from the tree core (where they take their fragrance), the techniques, too, originate from the heart-mind (Confucian overtones). Interestingly, there is also a different interpretation – albeit more prosaic – that when the tree trunk is cut, no fragrance is there whatsoever, which alludes to the ephemeral nature of phenomena (allegorically, “flowers in the sky” 空花). The ending of the poem is then usually changed to 花はあらじな. This theme is also explored in Ikkyū's 一休 (1393-1481) *Mizukagami* 水鏡. Imamura, *Budōka Senshū* 武道歌撰集, Vol. 1: 49. Also see Ikkyū 一休, Sōjō Hirano 平野宗浄, and Hironobu Iizuka 平野宗浄, *Ikkyū Osho Zenshu* 一休和尚全集, vol. 4/第4巻 (Shunjusha 春秋社, 2000). It is significant that Chiba adheres to the Confucian interpretation here.

on the edge of the board humming a popular tune²²⁵ is indicative of the state of vital force,²²⁶ in other words, of an unsettled mind.²²⁷ Although it is quite normal that this so-called “vital force” should be so agile, we must understand that the heart-mind moves depending on vital force.²²⁸

That which is called “power”²²⁹ arises where vital force gathers. When vital force is deficient, the body is weak; when the vital force is abundant, the body is strong. When the vital force of breathing is abundant below the navel,²³⁰ the whole body, down to a single hair, will not be short of strength.

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Therefore, you should know that strength is in the body, while courage²³¹ is in the heart-mind.

Through continual practice of swordsmanship for several years, strength and courage will extend to the tip of the bamboo sword. This is called the “power that issues from technique.”

When the heart-mind, vital force, and power are separated, the efficiency of techniques of swordsmanship cannot be demonstrated. It is as with gunpowder: if sulfur, saltpeter, and ashes are separated, its power will weaken; but if the three ingredients are mixed, its power is so effective – it is akin to making Heaven and Earth tremble.

²²⁵ 「九重の」 is likely to be a popular tune in Chiba's time.

²²⁶ When the usage of 氣 pertains to “microcosm”, i.e., body-internal psycho-physiological functions, I do not capitalize it. The distinction is provisional as in the case of the Principle as a metaphysical concept, and a “principle” of a technique etc.

²²⁷ When the mind is weak or caught in expectation (e.g. in attempt to make the right move in chess and win the advantage), the vital force (traditionally imagined as ever-moving) gets agitated and takes over. Thus the person shows signs of impatience.

²²⁸ This passage is a paraphrase of *Mencius* 2A:2.

²²⁹ It is noteworthy that “power” in this context does not exactly equal the muscular strength. Rather it is more akin to the coordinated and focused activity of the largest muscle groups around the waist and back and relative tonic relaxation of the extremities. Therefore it is a common usage today among the martial artists to say 腰を入れよ (Use your hip!) during the execution of kendo techniques, as opposed to the use of arm muscles – a “beginner's habit”.

²³⁰ According to traditional Chinese medicine and Daoism, health depends on whether or not the vital force contained in breathing descends to the lower abdomen (*dantian*), perhaps based on an observation that a fetus “breathes” through the umbilical cord without using the post-natal pulmonary mechanism.

²³¹ Courage 勇 is a quality of willpower according to *Mencius* 2A:2. It is also traditionally thought to be a quality of vital force 勇氣, hence the usage here.

“No space to fit a hair;” “flint-and-sparks momentum;” “strike the opponent before he makes a move;” and “the cat catches a mouse” – all these are expressions²³² of the unity of heart-mind, vital force, and power.

15.5. Technique – Principle: Questions and Answers.

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Question: There are technique and principle in swordsmanship. What is technique?

Answer: In kendo there are four roots [of technique]: size, strength, speed, and weight. However, there are four types of disadvantages associated with these four: big is slow; strong is stiff; fast is small, and light is weak. The one who does not have these disadvantages can be called “truly big, strong, fast, and light.” The technique that does not lose its direct impact is called “correct.”

Question: What is principle?

Answer: It is that which governs technique and is thus the hidden side of technique. It is called “mysterious.” Victory is attained by combining the correct and the mysterious. The correct becomes mysterious, the mysterious correct. This is called “the union of technique and principle.”

Question: What are victory and defeat?

Answer: Victory and defeat depend on the

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following three factors: distance, position, and vital force.

Question: What do these three mean?

Answer: When my opponent advances I retreat. This is called “distance.” When he positions himself at a certain place, I do likewise. This is called “position.” He has vital force and so do I. The two interact. This is called “vital force.”

Question: What is the decisive point in a match?

²³² Expressions of immediacy: 間髪を容れず is a common expression in contemporary Japanese (originally from *Wenxuan*, 文選・枚乘: 「間不容髪」). 石火之機 comes from *Fudōchi Shinmyōroku* 不動智神妙録 by Takuan Sōhō 沢庵宗彭(1573-1646), who in turn elaborated on the expression (閃電光)撃石火 from *Mumonkan* (Ch. *Wumenguan*) 無門関, Case 21, Capping Verse. The idea is that as soon as you strike a flint, the sparks come out. Similarly an ideal swordsman never calculates; he just simply strikes whenever there is an opening.

Answer: When vital force and form come forth together, it is called “the decisive point in a match.”

Question: When this happens, does it lead to a certain victory?

Answer: That which cannot be won is inside one’s self. That which can be won rests with the opponent. One has to mature [in this art] and reach the “wondrous.” When one matures, his heart-mind fully forgets his hand; his hand fully forgets the sword and spear; he does not leave the divine sphere.²³³

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Such state is the state of ease in which there is no limit to magical transformations. One maneuvers in accordance with one’s opponent’s movements and attains victory.

Question: What is the meaning of gains and losses with respect to technical form?

Answer: There are a few swordsmen nowadays who tend to assume oblique stances. This is called “linking form.” Linking form allows one to act according to circumstances: when there is contact, one rolls with it; when there is none, one stays away from the opponent. This is called “to follow what comes about.” When one follows this method and becomes proficient in this way, one makes [conscious] maneuvers. In so doing, there are gains and losses with respect to technical form. When one learns the proper way, his maneuvers will be proper. In training one comes full circle: having gone all the way to the end, one returns to the beginning; having come to the beginning, one reaches the end. There are neither beginnings nor ends for me. The same is true of others – there are no limits to mastery.

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One is both divine and not. This is called “maturing in studies.”

Question: What is certain victory according to the transmission?

Answer: Certain victory is to be fully accomplished within human affairs. Which is to say, he who studies without reflection remains in darkness; he who reflects without study does not understand the truth. He who studies and reflects well can earn his bread and clothes. If one is active in studies and thorough in reflection, how can one not gain knowledge, how can one not become victorious?

²³³ The meaning of 円神 is not clear. Possibly a variant spelling for “the center of the sphere” 円心, the term might also refer to mastery of swordsmanship that originates in a sacred space (*dōjō* 道場). Cf. <103> below.

Question: What is the difference between high skill and poor skill?

Answer: The sole difference is whether you can seize the crucial moment in distance and timing or not. Distance and timing are the great opportunities in a contest. When distance and timing are not properly used,

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even if one has done quite a bit of practical training, one is after all not yet ready to step onto the contest ground. The point of difference between high skill and poor skill is truly a matter of a hair's breadth.

16. Kendo

16.1. Standard Kata

16.1.1. Hassō²³⁴ (the 1st form)

- i. Place the long sword at your side and assert your position.²³⁵
- ii. The sword is placed with the same intent as in the sword drawing of *iai*.²³⁶

Place both hands on the kneecaps.

- iii. Once you become completely focused on your target,²³⁷ calmly bow to your opponent maintaining this spirit.²³⁸

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- iv. With the mental image of a rising dragon, slowly assume the standing position.²³⁹
- v. Draw back your right foot, then your left foot, bringing them together. Slide one step forward with your left foot, then draw your right foot next to it and assume the *bankyo* position²⁴⁰ with the mental image of a landing dragon.

²³⁴ Named after *hassō-gamae* 八相構, the “character eight stance”. The body is turned so the left side is facing the opponent. The hilt is brought close to the head, the guard of the sword is two fists away from the mouth. The blade points upward at a 45-degree angle from the vertical axis. Ichiji Matsunobu 松延市次, ed., *Kendo Dankyū Shinsa: Mōshikom kara Menjō made* 剣道段級審査：申し込みから免状まで, Seibidō Sports Series 42, (Tokyo: Seibidō Shuppan 成美堂出版, 1993), 84-8. The kata described here is different from the fourth kendo kata (hassō) or any other kata of All Japan Kendo Federation 全日本剣道連盟形.

²³⁵ This position is commonly called *seiza* 正座.

²³⁶ The hilt is in the front; the guard of the sword is one fist away from the left kneecap. The mental image is to be able to get hold of the sword at any moment to be able to draw it instantaneously.

²³⁷ 気当: lit. “aiming energy”. The idea is that the whole body, mind, and energy of a swordsman should “aim” at his/her opponent single-pointedly.

²³⁸ *Zarei* 座礼 position.

²³⁹ *Shizentai* 自然体 in contemporary kendo.

- vi. With the mental image of the rising dragon, start by taking the sword with one hand [left] and assume the standing position.²⁴¹
 - vii. Hold the sword with both hands²⁴² and make two small sliding steps with first your left and then your right foot.²⁴³
 - viii. Raise the sword to the upper level position. Then open your arms to both sides making a big circle. At the same time make two small steps back with your left foot leading.
 - ix. Raising the sword with your right hand, make a horizontal circle above the head and move slightly forward making two alternating steps with your left foot leading.
 - x. Hold the sword with both hands at the upper level position. Then lower the sword to the right shoulder in a circular motion. At the same time, step forward with the left foot.²⁴⁴
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- xi. Step forward with the right foot and strike with a cutting shout.²⁴⁵ (The *uchidachi*²⁴⁶ parries by stepping back with alternating steps.)
 - xii. Make two alternating steps forward. Projection of thrusting energy must be maintained.²⁴⁷ (The *uchidachi* parries by pushing off the tip of the sword.)
 - xiii. Rotating the sword with the tip of the sword to the right, bring it to the upper-level position.²⁴⁸ Commence the strike from the upper-level position. Project the

²⁴⁰ 蟠居 is almost exactly like the *sonkyo* position 蹲居 in contemporary kendo (a squat with both knees bent and open to the sides, balancing the whole body on the balls of the feet; spine erect; the sword is in front in the mid-level position), except for the position of the sword, i.e., in *bankyo* the sword is placed in front on the ground).

²⁴¹ Same as the *taitō* 帯刀 position in contemporary kendo.

²⁴² *Seigan* position 正眼の構.

²⁴³ Usually called *suriashi* 摺足, this method of locomotion is different from walking in that the front foot slides while the back foot is pulled close and then alternated. Thus the shifts of the center of gravity away from the centerline are minimal.

²⁴⁴ *Hassō* position (see above).

²⁴⁵ Usually called *kiai* 気合.

²⁴⁶ The *uchidachi* 打太刀 is the “teacher.” He/she allows the learner – *shidachi* 仕太刀 (lit. the “executer”) – to do the technique by either being on the defense side, or offering openings for a counterattack.

²⁴⁷ After the strike, the sword is in the middle position. Making forward steps, thrust with the whole body as opposed to thrusting with the arm muscles. *Kisei* 氣勢, projection of energy, is kind of a mental image that the target 当 is hit, while the sword does not actually reach the target, either blocked by the opponent, or when the final cut is willingly halted.

²⁴⁸ This technique is known as *kaeshi waza* 返し技. The sword rotates to the side yielding to the opponent’s pressure, while the hands are raised above the head. The wrists are relaxed allowing the sword to make a

striking energy keeping the sword directed at the target and stop.²⁴⁹ (The uchidachi raises his sword sideways making it perpendicular to your sword – the body of his sword rotated to your right²⁵⁰ – in order to parry the incoming strike.) At the same time, slide forward with your left foot and pull your right foot from behind to join it with the left foot.²⁵¹

xiv. Rotate your sword with the tip of sword to the left and take a step back with your right foot.²⁵² At the same time, raise the sword to the upper-level position and strike together with a projection of energy. Extend the sword to the head of the opponent lightly, sliding the right foot and then drawing the left foot from behind. Join both feet and focus on the target.

xv. Slide your left foot forward. Both parties raise their swords to the upper-level position. (Uchidachi aims at your [left] wrist

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and makes a downward cut to your left obliquely. His sword stops parallel to the floor. He maintains the position.) When the uchidachi seizes his opportunity and comes with a strike, step back with your left foot – the whole body moves back – and avoid the opponent's strike.²⁵³ Next, projecting the energy to strike down the opponent's sword, you should make a cutting shout and strike down the opponent's sword firmly at its middle segment. At that very instant, raise your right foot [bending the knee].²⁵⁴ Next, both hands (brought to your lower abdomen) open to the sides. (Make the tip of the sword point up and outside, as in the beginning of the form.) This is the ending of the first form.

16.1.2. Double cut with the single sword (the 2nd form).

i. Raising the sword with your right hand, make a horizontal circle above the head and move slightly forward making two alternating steps with your left foot leading.

circle. The counterstrike is made using the momentum from rotation and the opponent's force. The feeling during the correct execution of this technique is that of completely letting go of resistance. This is a really gracious move that embodies the principle of effortless action whereby the opponent's force is used against him/her.

²⁴⁹ Zanshin: the shidachi has to show his utter concentration on target while maintaining this dynamic pause.

²⁵⁰ A typical parrying position (横一文字).

²⁵¹ This forward drive, usually called *okuriashi* 送り足, pushes uchidachi's sword back against him and creates an opening for the next move.

²⁵² This, again, is a *kaeshiwaza*, but from the opposite side.

²⁵³ This part is similar to the first kata of All Japan Kendo Federation.

²⁵⁴ A photograph demonstrating a similar position can be found in Stevens, *The Sword of No-Sword: Life of the Master Warrior Tesshu*, 41.

ii. Raise both hands to the upper level position (in the first form one hand is raised, but in the second form both hands are raised to the upper level position). At the same time,

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slide forward with the left foot followed by your right foot pulling it next to the left foot.

iii. Lower the sword to the middle level position (the sword handle at the level of your navel). Study your opponent's strengths and weaknesses. Raise the sword to the upper level position again. This time, when uchidachi approaches with a horizontal thrust, shidachi presses uchidachi's sword off the target, makes a target setting shout and advances. (When uchidachi stops, shidachi also stops.) After making a pause, advance with your left foot and bring your sword in contact to your opponent's sword. (The advancing step is not for striking, but for positioning.)

iv. Rotate the sword tip to the left and assume the upper level position. Strike with a shout advancing with your right foot. At once, bring the sword to the left side at the chest level and advance with an overpowering thrust. (The left hand is slightly above the right hand.²⁵⁵) Bring both hands to the lower abdomen (and bring your feet together). Open to the sides as in the first form. The second form ends here by bringing the sword to the upper level position and stepping to the front.

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Bring the sword down with one hand; the back of the blade is turned to the right. Squat keeping the mental image of a landing dragon. Staying alert, bring the sword to the left hip with the sheathing intent and bow.²⁵⁶

16.2. Kirikaeshi

One must understand that when learning kendo *kirikaeshi*²⁵⁷ comes first. Kirikaeshi is the basic of the art of swordsmanship. When you do it, raise the sword to the upper level position and make consecutive oblique cuts. It strengthens your muscles and enables you to

²⁵⁵ The blade is inclined downward. This kind of thrust is not found among the contemporary kendo techniques.

²⁵⁶ Usually, wooden swords (*bokutō* 木刀) are used for kata practice. They are not actually sheathed.

²⁵⁷ Lit. "changing cuts", *kirikaeshi* 切り返し is considered the most important kendo exercise.

move your body naturally. This exercise, kirikaeshi, needs to be practiced diligently in order to master the magic of swordsmanship.²⁵⁸ In other words, the mind and the method must be unified and the sword forgotten. This cannot be achieved without constant practice of hundreds thousands kirikaeshi drills.

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When one tries to rise to a high level in a roundabout way, that is, avoiding the practice of kirikaeshi, one will not be able to handle the sword well in a stressful situation, and therefore will end up losing. A swan can fly across the ocean.²⁵⁹ However, at the very beginning, it can only fly one foot, and then three feet. Learning slowly but surely, it can at last soar into the open sky. The art of swordsmanship is also like this. When you practice enthusiastically and persistently over and over again, you naturally reach the stage at which you can perform miracles. A beginner must pay special attention to this point.

16.3. Points that require attention in budō.

Warriors of former times were truly well mannered. Their speech was moderate,

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their attitude mild; they valued integrity exceedingly. Hence, in a situation when their sense of the duty and humaneness²⁶⁰ was compromised, they endeavored to compensate with their lives. Among other things, teacher-disciple relations were characteristically strict. The commitment was made upon one's entry into training, and even slight transgressions would not be tolerated. All the more, their human bonds were so strong that the teacher loved his students as his own children, and the students respected their teacher as a father.²⁶¹ Therefore, the teacher always looked forward to seeing his students' achievements and self-establishment,²⁶² and the students never forgot their debt of gratitude toward their teacher their entire lives. As for the teacher-student interaction these days, however, it has come to the point where the fine ambience of kindness, honesty, and

²⁵⁸ *Hengenshutsu* 変幻出没, lit. "rising and passing away of ever-changing magical apparitions" here is a figure of speech for complete mastery of kendo, meaning to be able "to do magic", to become a "wizard swordsman".

²⁵⁹ The reference to a swan 鴻鵠 is this context alludes to *Mencius* 7A:9, which illustrates that constant mindfulness of good practice is more than half-hearted practice.

²⁶⁰ 義理人情

²⁶¹ Confucian understanding of father-son relationship, i.e. that of parental love and filial respect.

²⁶² 立身. Cf. *Confucian Analects* 論語 2.4.

simplicity as well as that of firm unbreakable commitment to good learning that was there in the past cannot even be dreamed of for the most part.

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The fact that there is no firm determination, no healthy thoughts, and no valiant countenance today is not a coincidence. It is no wonder that good manners and proper conduct have crumbled, and that aspirations have become trivial, while in the sphere of education there are no great achievements. Only petty profit-seekers are on the increase. I must admit that I feel truly sorry for the nation due to the fact that it can not produce men of high caliber.

Come, everyone! All who wish to excel in character, good manners, academic achievements, as well as body strength – summon your bravery and make your way to the gates of budō! Gentlemen, please, establish the harmony between the martial and the literary!

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Below, I would like to outline some of the rules of martial training.

16.4. Rules of martial training

1. The one who considers entering into training must provide a letter of introduction signed by a senior student of the dojo together with a resume.

2. The one who considers commencing budō practice must make the ritual offering of a devotee with the purpose of mutual purification of spirit.

3. The one who intends to enter into training must give a written pledge and fulfill it. He must never give up budō in the middle.

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4. The one who has entered into martial training must regard the dojo as a sacred place in which a deity abides. He must never stain his martial spirit.

5. The one who has entered into martial training must correct his manners in terms of both his speech and comportment and must never display unseemly behavior.

6. The one who has entered into martial training must first of all have feelings of loyalty and patriotism. He must act with bravery, a sense of duty and altruism, and never with cowardice and lingering attachments, should an emergency situation arise.

7. The one who has entered into martial training must value integrity and maintain decorum.

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He must never resort to lies and forgery or initiate fights.

8. The one who has entered into martial training must actively strive at all times to extend his feelings empathy and generosity.

9. The one who has entered into training must always make fortifying the body his objective and endure harsh winter training or open air training, which feels as if one's frozen fingers are going to drop off.

10. The one who has entered into training will receive a certificate as an encouragement when he reaches the middle level of expertise. As he advances in his practice, he will then receive a record of mastery,²⁶³ which proves one's achievement in this art, when he reaches a higher level.

<105>

And again, as he advances even further, he will receive a teaching license, which proves one's complete mastery of this art, when he reaches the highest level. At the same time he will receive the oral transmission of secrets of this art.

16.5. My view of budō

“The superior ones win; the inferior ones lose.” and “The strong devour the weak.” are old expressions²⁶⁴ that refer to the terrifying reality of killing and struggle in the animal world. These serve as a wake up call that prepares us to confront those violent types, who, having strength and ability, disregard the restraints provided by legal codes and precepts of morality and religion. If so, then there is no way of knowing whether today's existence will come to an end tomorrow, and whether today's glory will become tomorrow's humiliation.

<106>

If we are at all to survive in this society as humans upholding the ideals of loyalty and patriotism, should we not, upon serious consideration of the state of affairs, take heed and learn methods to protect those ideals? What are these methods? There are only two: to

²⁶³ *Mokuroku* 目録: the record of mastery that includes a list of all techniques of the style of swordsmanship.

²⁶⁴ 優勝劣敗、弱肉強食 are both used today to mean “survival of the fittest” and “natural selection”.

enrich the country and to strengthen its army. Diligence and frugality are the basis for enriching the country, while martial practice is what the army needs. Even a child and a delivery boy can understand this much. It is regrettable, however, that most people only talk about it and never take this matter to heart. Even if they do take it to heart, they never do anything about it. And even if they do something about it, they never part with all manner of contradictory behavior. Now that we won a war or two, “men of principle” above and below are slowly acquiring a taste for extravagance, becoming more and more effeminate each day. How can it be that, despite its constant proclamation, the *Boshin Rescript*²⁶⁵ does not inspire fear in those it addresses? It is true that the ones who live in luxury despise diligence and frugality,

<107>

while those who are effeminate detest martial valor. Such is the human condition. The cause of destruction of the countries past and present lies only in this state of affairs.

And this is why I desperately call for the promotion of martial practice. It is precisely what the people of old meant when they said, “Never forget the war lessons from the past in peaceful times.”

Although it can be said that our country has now reached the level of the world powers and is thriving more and more in prosperity of the civilization, at the same time, however, the Way of Virtue and the human heart in the present age are on the verge of decay. Our national subjects are depleted of energy; their physical condition is gradually deteriorating.

Our national subjects look with indignation upon the fine customs of diligence, frugality, valor, and martiality, which have been treasured for the past thousand ages. The fact that these values are about to be lost is a cause for great distress. Incompetent though am I, despite my insufficient strength,²⁶⁶ I engaged in martial learning, tempered my courage,²⁶⁷ and founded a society²⁶⁸ that is raising men of principles with healthy strong

²⁶⁵ Official title: *The Imperial Rescript of Boshin Year (Boshin Shōsho 戊申詔書)*; “Boshin” refers to the year of issuance of the Rescript, i.e., 1908 (戊申 in the Chinese sexagenary cycle). The document remonstrates the slackening of public morals after the Russo-Japanese War. Cf. Emperor Meiji, *Boshin Shōsho Naimu Daijin no Enzetsu 戊申詔書 内務大臣の演説* (Mie-ken: 1908).

²⁶⁶ Humble forms of self-referral.

²⁶⁷ 膽/胆: lit., gall bladder, an epithet for courage.

²⁶⁸ 大日本武道会.

bodies and firm spirit, who, in case of emergency, would be willing to repay their debt of gratitude to the imperial sovereigns – eternal as heaven and earth – with duty, valor, and altruism.

<108>

I continue to contemplate this state of affairs day and night, unable to forget these thoughts even in my sleep. My sincere belief is that spreading the great values of martial valor, diligence, and frugality will not only remain my hope alone, but will become the hope of the whole nation. For my part, the personal view expressed herein shows the contents of my inner being.²⁶⁹

The End.

²⁶⁹ 敢て肝胆を披瀝して: lit., “I dare spill the contents of my liver and gall bladder” is not unlike the colloquial English expression “to spill one’s guts,” but unlike the latter, however, the former is written in a rigid official style.

APPENDIX 1

Transliteration of the original text.

[Cover page]

大山大将閣下題字 寺内大将閣下手簡
東郷大将閣下題字 比志島中将閣下題字・序文
大日本武道会主幹千葉如山先生著

武道教訓

[Calligraphy]

我武惟揚 大山巖
鍊磨 東郷著
御劍の
をしへのみちを
廣らかに
皇國の
たみと猶
つくすなり
正二位子爵平朝臣時萬

拝啓今般御編纂
之日本武道教範
御贈与被下御厚意
難有奉鳴謝可程
御禮申上候如此々
御座候敬具
明治四十二年四月廿四日
子爵寺内正毅
千葉長作殿

鐵可断
比志島義輝書

[Photographs]

大山元帥
東郷大将
比志島中将
山岡鐵舟翁
大日本武道會主幹 千葉如山

<一>

序

夫れ神州の精華、之れを道に発して武となり、之れを氣に発して桜花となり、所謂花は桜木人は武士と謳われたる所以のもの、蓋し我が大和民族の優者たりし、古武士の高潔なる志操を、桜花爛漫の美に比したるものにして、二千五百有余年以来、建国の大本一に此の武道に基づかざるはなし。

王政維新に及んで、百般の制度一に泰西に倣い、爾来汲々

<二>

として彼れの文明を採用し来りしが、重用の裏面には悪用の弊ありて、茲に漸く輕佻浮薄の惰風を生じ、其極や竟に今日に至りて殆んど精神界の腐敗を見るを致せり。豈に憂慮に憂慮を加えざるべけんや。

是に於て近時憂国の士相次いで出で、正義侃々往々時弊に中る者多し。然りと雖ども元来文弱の余弊を救うには、文を以てするよりも、如かず武を以て之れを救うの勝れるに。茲に千葉如山氏あり、壮時夙に武術を修めて

<三>

跋涉全州に遍く。胆を練り体を鍛え、故山岡鐵舟翁門中実^{そうそう}に錚々たるものとなす。曩^{どうじつ}日一書日本武道教範を著わして、大いに武道の奨励を唱え、傍ら武場を開きて、常に元氣旺盛の青年者を養成するに努めつつあり。

頃者更らに一緒武道教訓なるものを著わして、武士道の真髓を時代的に解釈し、併せて武道の奥秘を説いて、之れを百般に活用するの微を論じ、人をして之れを繙^{ひもと}いて其の真意を解するに至るまで、放つ能わざらしむるの妙あ

<四>

り。余之れを一読して其の世道人心を益する尠^{せんしやう}少ならざるを思為し、氏が序を請うを諾し、茲に一言を記して以って序文に代わると云爾。

明治四十四年三月

陸軍中将従四位勲二等功三級

比志島義輝

<目次 1>

武道教訓

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<1>

武道教訓

大日本武道会

主幹 千葉長作著

総論

一体国家を治むると云うことと、国家を憂うると云うこととは、一つのものであるけれども、実は二つになるのである。国家を治むると云うことは為政者即ち政治家の職責であるけれども、国家を憂うると云うことはどうしても、志士の任務でなければならないのである。

<2>

る。匹夫にして天下を憂い布衣にして時世を濟いしことは、古から国家に志しあるものの皆行ったことである。

是に於て志士往々為政者に勝ることがあるので、為政者却って一匹夫に劣ることがあるのである。天下盛衰の繁る所国家安危の岐るる所、一に達眼達觀の士に待つある所以のものは、実に此処にあるのである。

今や翻って我が帝国の形勢を洞察するに表面^{だけ}は文明らしく見えて、而して如何にも世界の強国を挫いたと云う鼻息荒らく、自からも東洋第一の強国と自負せん計^{ぼか}りに見ゆるも、深く其の国家根底の基礎を看察す

<3>

ると、実に憂苦千万に堪えないのである。

外は国運^{ますます}の発展益^{とみ}急を告げて、經濟の膨張頓に増加を生じつつあり。而して内は国民の思想飄々^{ひょうひょうこ}乎として輕佻浮薄なる砂のような上に動揺して居る。為政者と云わず学者と云わず志士と云わず、実に国民一般が勤勉努力して以って国家經營の基礎を強固にするの術を施さねば、とても此の内外兩途の難局を切抜いて、世界の列強と対峙して行くことが六ヶ敷いのである。是れ不肖余輩が嗚呼がましくも大胆にも、茲に一片の肝胆を披瀝して、之れを我が五千万の同胞に訴うることの已むを得ないのである。

<4>

古から志士の天下を慨し為政者の国民を愛するの余り、憂心^{ちゆうちゆう}忡々たるの念は一なりと雖ども、事の現代を慮るよりは、寧ろ後代の慮るの深且つ遠なるに如かないのである。而して我帝国の如きは殊に現代よりも後代を慮るべきの大必要あるを見るのである。依つて下章に少しく之れを説明せんに。

国民思想の健全ならざる所以

抑^{そもそ}も我が日本帝国が万世一系の皇統を有して、二千五百有余年一度も侮^{あなど}りを外国に受けないで、巍然東海^{きぜんとうかい}の表に屹立^{きつりつ}して来た卓絶せる国家は、世界中一もない。而

<5>

して二千五百年以来忠君愛国の念に凝り固って、特殊の殉国的精神を保持する国民は、世界中亦た二とはない。然るに世界の交通が益々頻繁となるに従い、所謂世界的の潮流、即ち富力の制度智力の制度と云う二つのものがやって来て、弱いもの貧乏なものを片端から蹂躪^{ふみにじ}りてしまうと云う、一大勢力が瀾^{はび}こって来た。其れが為め亜細亜や阿非利加のような貧弱な国は、どしどし取られてしまつて、最早東洋に残つたものは、実に日本支那其他の一二国に過ぎない。其れとても真に独立の名の付くものは、我日本と支那丈である。

其処で、不肖余輩が熟^{つらつ}ら、眼^{まなこ}を我帝国も将来に注いで見

<6>

ると、一は有形な富力の不足と一は無形なる思想が、段々不健全に傾くことが第一番心配になるのである。譬い有形の富力が不足であっても、無形の思想が慥かであったならば、左程心配するにも足らないが、此の無形の国民的思想が段々不健全になって来るから、実に仕方がないのである。然らば此の無形の国民的精神が慥かでないと云うことは、一体どういう原因で、そうしてどうすれば国民的精神が健全になるかと云うと、一は即ち国民の恒産恒心を有たない所のものが段々殖えて行くに連れて欧米の変調子なる思想が、之れに伴うて来たのであると余輩は信ずるのである。今一は我

<7>

輩の平生持論とする活きた武士道、即ち時代的武士道を夙くから我が国民の心田に植付けて置かなかつた為めであらうと思うのである。

其処で今迄過ぎ去って来た事はいくら思うても仕方がないから、今後時勢に適する所の武士道を一日も早く我が国民の心田に植付けねばならぬによって、今左に活きた武士道、即ち非常の時ばかりでなく、平常無事の時でも無くてはならないと云う時代的の武士道を、一つ説明しなければならぬ必要が出て来るのである。

<8>

武士道是一種の国民的信念

我が日本帝国が曩きに支那の大国と戦つて連戦連捷の大功を奏した。其時には日本人民は一般に如何思うたかと云うと、我が日本の支那に勝ったのは早く西洋の文明を輸入して、文明的武器と秩序ある軍隊制度とを採用した為めで、即ち彼我文明程度の相違の結果であると思つた。然るに一たび世界の強国と云われた露西亜と戦うことになったが、矢張り連戦連捷で見事に凱歌の声を挙げて世界の耳目を驚かした。是に於て世界の各国は皆な驚いて云うには、日本の如き小さな国

<9>

が、どうして露西亜のような大国に勝ったか、実に不思議であると云うて色々と詮索の上、日本にはどうしても何か一つの他国にない優れたものが、存して居る相違ないと云う其の真因を研究することになった結果、日本には士根性即ち武士的精神が国民一般にあるからであるとするに帰着した。其処で我が日本国民も此の時始めて自覺して思うようには、日本が露西亜のような大国に勝ったのは、昔の武士道と云うものが存して居た為めに、此の武士道が斯る国家非常の時に活動したからであると、蒙古襲来の時と同じように思つた。夫から武士道と云うことが非常に喧しくなつ

<10>

て来た。然るに武士道が国民的精神の基礎となつて戦争に勝つたのであるものなれば、支那との戦争に勝つたのも矢張り此の武士道の為めであると云わねばならないのに、其時にはそうは云わなくて、日露戦役の後になって、頻りに武士道を担ぎ出したのは、畢竟我國民が国家存立の為め始めて自からを護るべき自覺心を起したからであると、余輩は信ずるのである。

国家を護るべき概念、即ち国民が国民自からを護るべき信念と云うものは、どうしても国民自からが修養し訓練して人格を作らねばならないので、之れが修養と訓練とを積むと怠るとによって、始めて国家の盛衰と

<11>

存亡とを来たすもので、要するに国家の盛衰存亡と云うものは、即ち自為的のもので決して他為的のものでない。古今東西の歴史を繙いて之れを見るに、どうしても正しい信念を有って居て、此の信念を永く子々孫々に伝えて、国民精神の健全なる国家が、世界に永く存立するもので、之れに反する国民は其の国家が次第に滅亡するのは明らかなる事実であるから、国民たるものは常に此の正しき信念を修養することに心を注がねばならないのである。

武士道と云うものは、畢竟此の信念の一に過ぎないので、吾人の祖先なる武士が平生行ってきたことをどう

<12>

しても踐んで行かねばならないと云う、節義即ち殉国的精神に帰するのである。然るに武士道と云うことに就ては、未だ世人の誤謬的に解釈して居るものが少くないから、左に少しく武士道の根源に溯りて、之れを明確に説明しなければならない必要を見るのである。

武士道の根源

抑も天地の間に生まれて生あるものは、悉く武と云うものを有って居る。鳥の飛ばんとするのは、其の飛ばんと欲する武を以って飛ぶので、魚の躍らんとするのはその躍らんと欲する武を以って躍るのである。即ち武と

<13>

云うものは万物活動の根源であって、天地の陽気である。人間も其の通りで男と女とに拘わらず、生れ落つるより武を有って居るのである。其の起たと欲するのは其起たと欲する武より発するのである。其の歩まんと欲するのは、其歩まんと欲する武より起るのである。即ち武と云うものは、身体に譬えて云ったならば、骨である、意気である、と断定して宜しいのである。即ち武は天真爛漫なる精神の活動であるにより、世界の人類と云うものは、悉く武と云うものを有って居るには相違ないが、偕て此の武と云うものを正道に行うて、進むべきときに進み、退くべきときに退き、死すべきときに死し

<14>

生くべきときに生き、所謂義と進退を共にすると云う人類は世界を通じて悉くある訳ではない。否な正しい武を有って居る国民は実に少ないのである。而して武士道という特殊の信念を有って居る、所謂日本的武士道を有して居る国民は、即ち日本国に限るのである。

武士道に関する西洋の事例

其処で、日本的武士道を述べる前に、少しく参考の為め支那及び西洋の事例を述べる必要がある。凡そ国々皆な一種の道德と云うものがありて、維持せられて行くものであるが、其建国の歴史的道德の良不良に

<15>

よって始めて国家基礎の確否を決するもので、支那の如きは上古堯舜^{ぎょうしゆん}の如き賢君も、無為にして化すと云う、所謂放任主義を以て人民に対したため、人民が君主を思うの念^{おも}自ずから薄く、随って君民一致の親密は遂に起らなかった。降って世々の君主は五倫を以て主となして、己れを修めしむる策を取り、礼樂を熾^{さか}んにして人心を和らげ、務めて黔首^{きんしゆ}を柔順にするの法を講じて、絶えて尚武の氣象を与うることを避けて居た。而して君主は常に九重^{きゅうちゆう}に垂拱^{すいきよう}して人民に接することをしなかったため、竟に君臣大義の実は常に挙がらないので、是等のため支那にては竟に特殊なる国民的信念なるも

<16>

のの起るの時機を得なかったのである。

夫から翻って西洋の歴史に溯って之れを見るに、今の欧州文明の源泉であつた羅馬^{ローマ}の如き、其中世紀に於ける道德と云うものは、主として家庭の厳格なる規則を守ると云うことによりて維持せられたもので、父親の權利と云うものは絶対無限なえらいもので、母親は総て一家族の保護者で、兒童を直接に教訓した教師であつた。そうして兒童は兵式教育と宗教教育とによって育られて来たために、当時の人民は非常に尚武の氣象に富んで強かったが、一たび典麗優雅なる雅典^{アテネ}の柔情^{てんれい} ²⁷⁰の風を学んで、今まで父母自からが我が子を教育して

<17>

来た直接的負担を挙げて、一切之れを奴隸の手に委することに至ってから、国民の精神は漸次腐敗して遂に滅亡してしまったのである。

又希臘^{ギリシヤ}の中世頃斯巴爾多^{スパルタ}の人民は非常に武が好きで、余程強かった。母親が我が子の戦場に行くを送る時に「盾を持つか、そうでなくば盾に乗りて帰れ」と云う言葉を以て之れを激励したと云うことである。以って其の当時の国民がどれほど強かったかと云うことが分る。然るに斯る強国も段々遊惰^{ゆうだ}に耽^{ふけ}ってから間もなく亡びてしまったのである。

夫から今の独逸^{ドイツ}の祖国でありしゲルマニアの其の十

<18>

三四世紀の時代に於ける人民は、平常朴質淡泊^{はくしつ}の生活をなして武勇を専一としたもので、当時国民が壮年になると、公会の式場へ出でて祝典を挙げるのが一般の礼であつた。其時神符を附しある所の武器を貰うて、此処に始めて一人前の男子となるので、是より後は此の武器を常に携帯して身辺より少しも離さずに大切にしたものである。之れは我国の封建時代における武士の元服式に能く似た所があるによって、茲に聊^{いささ}か之れを説明せんに。

此の武器授与式と云うものは、大抵十三四歳より二十歳迄の間に於て、其人物の生長強弱によって行うもの

²⁷⁰ = 柔懦

<19>

である。恰^{ちやうど}当^{あた}莊^{じやう}嚴^{げん}なる式場の一段高き所に、町村の尊長者が突起^{とつた}って槍と盾とを授くるので、此時長髪の青年が恭しく進むと即ち尊長者が此の武器を授けて国民的名称を与えるのである。彼等青年輩は家庭の子弟より国家の独立的人民となるのであるから、皆々非常に喜んで一代の名誉としたのである。故に当時ゲルマニアには封建時代の花と歌われし義騎、即ち我国の封建時代で云った武士と少しも異ならないものがあつて尚武の氣象が一般国民に遍かったものである。此の性格が今だに独逸に残って居るによって、独逸丈は欧州の他の国と異なつて、その国民的精神の一種強健なる所が

<20>

あるものであらうと余輩は思うのである。

故に西洋にても、羅馬や希臘の中世期時代には、羅馬希臘と云う其国式の武士道なるものがあつて、正義を愛すると云う所謂強を挫き弱を扶^{たす}くると云う信念があつたものである。当時彼等人民の武士道と云うことは詮^{せん}じ積^つむると正義を守るために要する武の力であると思つて居たのである。然るに彼等の武士道を失い併せて其国を失うに至つたのも、全く其修養を忘れ其の訓練を怠^{いと}つたためである。決して他為^た的のものではなくて、自為^{みづか}的のものであると云うことは、歴史其のものが明かに証して居る所である。

<21>

其処で我が日本帝国も是非武士道の修養武士道の訓練と云うことを要せねばならないのである。

日本武士道の説明

我日本帝国の武士道は固^{もと}より、彼の西洋にあつた武士道とは違つて、特殊の信念を有する純日本的武士道である。而して此の純日本的武士道と云うものは、向上進歩のもので、決して文明に背反するようなものでない。其れ故に封建制度が敗れて王政復古となり、夫から立憲政治となりて、一切の制度と国民の思想とが昔しと異つて来た今日になつては、此処に武士道も活變して

<22>

時代的なものとなり、以つて国家の基礎を強固にし、国家の威力を發展する所のものとならなければならないのである。乃^{すなわ}ち現代の如き思想の健全ならざるときには、却つて益々倍加的に武士道の訓練を要するので即ち武士道を新たに活かして一生面を与えねばならないのである。

然るに我が国民の中に武士道と云うものは、非常の時のみに必要であつて、平時には必要がないように思うものがある。又武士道と云うのは、武に関する人のみに必要であつて、一般の商工農者には必要がないように考えるものがあるのは、畢竟武士道を時代的に活かし

<23>

て応用することをなさない所から来るのである。依て茲に余輩は日本武士道の起源及び発達の一通りを述べることの必要を感ずるのである。

日本の武士道は建国の始めから、天皇に直隸して来られた大来目、物部、又降って大友、佐伯氏^{なと}杯が、世々武人を統率して人民の模範となるべき高潔の思想を有って、忠君愛国の念を遍からしめた固有的の觀念が、山水の秀麗なると、国土の豊穰なる風氣と相融合して、一般国民の日本的性格を造りたるものであると、余輩は深く信ずるのである。何となれば、神武天皇が御位に即かせ給いてから、日本の国に儒教や仏教と云うもの

<24>

が来るまで、殆んど一千年と云う長い間、文字的教育がなかったにも拘わらず、君臣相和して国家の強固なることは云うまでもなく、神功皇后の如きは海に航して遠く三韓を征し給いしを見ても、如何に我が国民が忠君の念に篤うして、尚武の氣象に富んで居たかが知らるるのである。蓋し日本上古の教えは実践を主として身より身に伝え口より口に伝えて、以って不知の間に忠君愛国の觀念を深からしめたものである。

此の如く我が日本国民は、上古より祖先崇拜即ち祖先の功業を祖述し、祖先の勇武を賛頌して之に倣わんと欲する希望が熱烈で、能く祖先の訓戒に服従して来

<25>

た所の国民であったことは種々の歴史的事例によって証せらるるのである。

夫から中世になってから、藤原氏若くは源平氏杯が主権者となりて、生殺与奪の大権を掌握するようになった為めに此処に君臣の道は一変して主従の義と云うものを生じた為めに武士道なるものも、亦た一変して極めて狭義的のものとなった。即ち忠君愛国と云う広い範囲から、今度は主に殉ずるといふ主の禄を食むものは、主に一命を捧げねばならぬと云う狭義的のものとなって、亦た君臣の大儀と云うことを深く思わないようになった。徳川氏の時代になってから士道即ち当時

<26>

の武士と云うものの操守すべき厳格なる常則に、君子の道を加えて義勇の精神に帰着せしめた。是れは兵学者として名高い山鹿素行^{やまがそこう}の士道、碩学者として名高い室鳩巢^{むろきゆうそう}の士説、大道寺友山^{だいてうじゆうざんしげのり}重教と云って名高い兵学者の書いた武道初心集、斉藤拙堂^{さいとうせつどう}正謙と云った大学者の著わした士道要論、幕末の偉人吉田松陰の書いた士規七則等によって、明瞭なるものである。此処に至って武士道と云うものも余程明かになって来て、頗る^{すこぶ}広義的のものとなったけれども、猶忠君愛国という日本的の武士道を明確に云い尽すに至らなかった。是れは当時の時勢としては実に然るべき訳であって、亦たそうな

<27>

らねばならなかったのである。

国家存亡盛衰の原因

徳川氏^{たけう}斃れて王政維新となり、茲に万機公論に決するの時代となってから、欧米の有形的文明と無形的思想とが續々輸入して来て、我が日本は茲に建設的の世となりて百事制度の具備に忙殺せらるるに至った。此に至って復た誰あつて武士道を唱い、武士道を鼓舞^{こすい}するものもなかった。唯だ唯だ文明の利器文明の制度ということに心酔して居た。然るに明治二十七八年に支那と戦い、次いで三十七八年に露西亜と戦わねばならぬ

<28>

ことになって、二度共勝ってから国土は膨張し国威は益^{ますます} 海外に揚って来て、茲に国家經濟の膨張的經營を要することに至った。此の膨張的經營を要することになって、茲に愈^{いよいよ} 我が国民の發奮的努力と確信的決心とを要することに至った。即ち自己を研究し、否な自己を研究せねばならないことになったのである。

露西亜との戦争に勝つと同時に、世界の各国が始めて日本を研究し出した。研究し出したと同時に、少しく恐れて来た、少しく妬んで来た。そこで世界の強国はどしどし金に任せて何万噸^{とん}と云う大きな軍艦を作る。軍用的の空中飛行船及び飛行機と云う恐ろしいものを競

<29>

うて拵^{こしらえ} らえる。表面は平和平和と云って平和を装うて居るけれども、裏面へ入って見ると、戦争の下拵^{こしらえ} をどんどん遣^や って居る。実に危険千万なる世の中となつて来たのである。

世界の大勢が勢力拡張を競うて居る以上は、我日本も此の渦中に入らねばならぬ。否な疾^と くに入って居るのである。此の競争激烈なる渦中であつて、此の金匱無欠^{きんおうむけつ} の国体を維持し、此の新来の新領土を永遠に保有して之れを發達せしむるには、第一に其の根本たる国家の基礎を強固なる国民的信念の上に置かねばならないのである。若し国民にして此の強固なる信念がなかつ

<30>

たならば、国民の智識はどれほど進んで来ても、国家の生産はどれほど饒^{ゆた} かになつて来ても、国家永遠の独立と国威長久の發揚とは、到底望むことが難いものと余輩は信ずるのである。試みに見よ、世界文明の最旧国であつたアッシリア バビロニア の遠くの昔に亡びて、古城残壘今は其形をだも訪ぬるに由なきは何んであるか。又燦然たる文物を有したりし羅馬希臘の中世期に滅して、荒趾廢墟^{こうし} 転^{うた} だ人をして当時の歴史を緇くに忍びざらしむるものあるは何んであるか。又現時の埃及印度^{エジプトインド} の亡国の惨状は、他邦人をして空しく涙巾を沾^ぬ わしむるものあるは、何んであるかと問えば、皆な其国の

<31>

特色たる所の国家的信念なるものを失つたからであると、余輩は断言して憚らないのである。

故に余輩は、我日本帝国の現時最も憂うべく最も恐るべきものは、我が歴史的信念の漸次消磨して、欧米の物質的文明にのみ偏倚^{へんい} せんとする変調的傾向の勢力である。若し我日本国民にして国家組織の要素に背反せる不健全なる思想の蔓延して、勤儉朴实なりし固有の美俗を破壊する虚榮奢侈^{しやうし} の悪風の遍く浸漸^{しんぜん} せるが如きことがあつたならば、今日如何に国家の富を増加し如何に海外に領土を拡張したとて、堅忍不拔^{けんにんふぼつ} の自信力なきが為め、畢竟之れが經營を完うし得ること能わ

<32>

ざるに至るのは、事理の甚だ見易い次第である。

武士道訓練の必要

そこで余輩の満腔の熱望は外^{ほか}ではない。此の金甌無欠の国家の基礎を大磐石^{だいばんじやく}に堅^{かた}むるには我が第二国民、即ち一般児童をして厳格なる訓練と忍強なる性格とを修養することの、最も急務なるを知るのである。如何となれば、第一国家存立の上からして、国家経済の上からして、之れが大必要なることを認むるのである。余輩左に少しく之れが然るべき所以を説明せんに。

今や世界に於ける国家的競争の大勢を洞察すると、各

<33>

国が国家存立の一大要素として最も重きを置くものは、所謂有形的の軍備である。而して国家経済の最も経費を要するものは、矢張り軍備である。ざっと見積っても、海軍が五百万噸で常備兵が五百万人、そして其費用が年に五十億万円である。何んと莫大なる費用ではあるまいか。而して此の費用を最も沢山払うて居る所の国民を指して、最も強い国と云うて居るのである。然らば我日本の如き、欧米の彼れに比して富の程度の卑^{ひく}い国は、彼等欧米各国と拮抗して、高い費用を払うて行くことは実に容易なことではない。特に国土の膨張と共に此の費用の益々増加して行っても、減ずると云う

<34>

ことは無かろうと思うのである。果して然りとしたならば、茲に吾人は一つ考えなければならないことがある。即ち斯る有形的の高い費用を年増に払うて行くよりは、如かず無形の力素、即ち正しき日本的信念、切に云ったならば時代的武士道を我が第二国民たる一般児童の心田に訓練修養せしむることの最も適切なることを、茲に重ねて断言し置くのである。

真正国民の資格

此处自今二十年の間、我が日本帝国が我慢の上我慢して、有形的の費用即ち軍備の供給を為し置くときは、

<35>

二十年の暁には我が第二国民即ち児童が、正義武勇に富む所の立派な国民と成り化するによって、茲に我が日本国は独り世界の強国と云わるる計^{ばか}りでない、即ち世界より正義の国であると云わるるに至ることと余輩は深く信ずるのである。

如何に国家が富饒であつて、国民が如何に強勇であつても、其国民にして正義を重んぜずして利益のみに奔り、弱邦を苦しみ貧国を陥れて暴虐是れ事とするのいたづらものであつたならば、吾人は決して斯る国を強国とも文明国とも云わないのである。否な、実に世界平和の讐敵と云うを憚らないのである。

<36>

然らば正義を愛するの国民とは、果たして如何なる国民であるかと云うと、其れは之れを一個人に就いて云ったならば、即ち正しい国家的信念があつて、義に富み弱を憐み正道を踏んで恐れず、天命を楽しんで宇内の善的平和を希望する品性高き人間を云うもので、之れを国家的資格に就いて云ったならば、即ち国民共存の義務^{つとめ}を蓋して相互の幸福

を計り、進んで弱邦を扶け人文を奨め、竟に世界の文明に貢献して隠れたるを開き、微かなるを明らかにし、以って大いに天下の利を拾うて世界の人道を翼^{なす}くる邦国を云うのである。

<37>

日本国民の報恩的信念

今や我が日本国民が前記のように、国家経済の膨張を加えて来たが、一般国民の精神が非常に軽佻浮薄になりて、所謂快樂主義に傾きつつ奢侈と虚栄心とに満たされて、竟に吾人の祖先が千辛万苦^{せんしんばんく}の中に鍛錬修養し来った勤儉^{なげう}の美風を抛^{なす}ちて、深く高襟^{はいから}的の惰習に浸染しつつあるを見ては、最早一刻も猶予すべき時ではない。一日も早く思想界の矯正策を講じなければならないのである。

思想界の矯正を計りて国民に健全なる精神を与うる

<38>

には、既に是非を知り事理を解し居る成長的国民には宗教界信徒の熱烈なる信仰其れの如く、真に自から楽しんで之れと離ることの出来ない、報恩的信念を深からしむると共に、第二国民たる一般児童に武士的信念の訓練を与うるの方法を取るより仕方がないのである。報恩的信念即ち国民が祖先を崇拜し、自国の風土の美を慕い、自国の風景の雅やかなるを愛し、自国の歴史の優^{ゆた}かなるを味うて、能く能く自国の難有^{ありがた}さを思わしむる念を抱かしめねばならぬ。

請う少しく我等の祖先が詠みたりし古歌を見て、如何に其信念の厚くして而かも思想の優美であったかを

<39>

知られたいのである。

大伴家持卿の歌に²⁷¹

おほともの、とほつかんおやの、そのなをば、おほくめねしと、おひもちて、つかへしつかさ、うみゆかば、みつくかばね、やまゆかば、くさむすかばね、おほきみの、へにこそしなめ、かへりみはせじと、ことたて、ますらをの、きよきそのなを、いにしへゆ、いまのをつゝに、ながさへる、おやのこどもぞおほともと、さへぎのうちは、ひとのおやのたつことだて、ひとのこは、おやのなたゝず、おほぎみに、まつろうものといひつげる、ことのつかさぞあづさゆみ、てにとりもちて、つるぎたち、こしにとりはきあさ

²⁷¹ 大伴の遠つ神祖のその名をば大久米主と負ひ持ちて仕へし官海行かば水漬く屍山行かば草生す屍大君の辺に
こそ死なめかへり見はせじと言立て大夫の清きその名をいにしへよ今をつづに流さへる祖の子どもぞ大伴と佐伯の
氏は人の祖の立つる言立て人の子は祖の名絶たず大君にまつろふものと云ひ継げる言の官ぞ梓弓手に取り持ちて剣
大刀腰に取り佩き朝守り夕の守りに大君の御門の守り我れをおきて人はあらじといや立て思ひし増さる大君の御言の
さきの聞けば貴み。Adapted from Noriyuki Kojima 小島憲之, Masatoshi Kinoshita 木下正俊, and Haruyuki
Tōno 東野治之, *Man'yōshū* 万葉集, Shinpen Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshū 新編日本古典文学全集・6-9
(Tokyo: Shogakkan 小学館, 1994), Vol. 4, 257-59.

<40>

まもり、ゆふのまもりに、おほぎみのみかどのまもり、われをおきて、またとは
あらじといやたて、おもひしまさるおほぎみの、みことのさきのきけばたふとみ

此の歌を読むと吾人の祖先が如何に、忠君の念に富んで居たかが分かる。

大江千里の歌に

秋の日は、山の端ちかし、暮れぬまに、母に見えなん、急げ我が駒

山上憶良の歌に

銀がねも、黄がねも玉も何せむに、まされる宝、子にしかめやも

<41>

康頼入道の歌に

さつまがた、沖の小島に我ありと、親には告げよ、八重のしほかせ

源定信の歌に

あすよりは、何をたのみに、ながめまし、嵐にかれし、撫子のはな

此等の歌を読むと吾人の祖先が、独り忠君の念に富んで居たばかりでない、実に
孝親の至情に厚かったことが分かるのである。

山部赤人の歌に

我がせこに見せんと思ひし梅の花、それとも見へず、雪

<42>

のふれゝば

此の歌によって、一家としての夫婦の愛が、如何に優しかったかと云うことが分
かるのである。

柿本人麿の歌に

あすからは、若菜つません、かたをかの、あしたの原は、けふぞやくめる

以って如何に家庭の心情が濃かであったかが知られるのである。

夫れから我祖宗歴代 天皇の勅と御製とを伺い奉るに

仁徳天皇 群臣に詔す 日本紀十一 四年二月

<43>

朕登高台以遠望之烟氣不起於域中以爲百姓既貧而家無炊者朕聞古聖王之世、人々
誦詠徳之音家々有康哉歌今朕臨億兆於茲三年頌音不聆炊烟轉疎即知五穀不登百姓窮乏也封
畿之内尚有不給者況乎畿外諸国耶²⁷²

同時に 天皇御製を詠み給う。

高きやに登りて見れば、烟りたつ、民のかまどは賑はひにけり

崇神天皇 群臣に下す勅 日本紀五 四年十月

詔惟我皇祖諸天皇等光臨宸極者豈為一身乎蓋所以司牧人神綸天下故能闡玄功時流至徳今
朕奉承大運愛育黎元何常聿遵皇祖之跡永保無窮之祚其群卿百僚竭

<44>

爾忠貞共安天下不亦可也²⁷³

²⁷²【訳者の現代語訳】朕は朕高台に登って遠くを眺めてみると、人家の煙が見られない。これは百姓が貧しくて、炊く人がいないのだろう。聞いたことによると昔、聖王の御世には、人々は君の徳を称える声を上げ、家々では平和を喜ぶ歌があったという。いま自分が政について3年になるが、褒め称える声も起らず、炊煙はまばらになっている。即ち五穀が実らず百姓が窮乏している証拠である。都の内ですらこの様子だから、都の外の遠い国ではいかにばかりであろうか。

天智天皇の御製に
秋の田の刈穂のいほの、とまをあらみ、我が衣手は露に濡れつゝ
如何に大御心の我々臣民に御優渥^{ゆうあく}なりしやを、推し測られて実に感泣に堪えない所である。

夫れから我が祖先の心懷の優雅なりし特色を代表せんに。
もゝしきの、おほみや人は、いとまあれや、桜かざして、けふもくらしつ

実に優悠迫まらざる態度を云い尽くして
居る

<45>

国土の美なることを云ったならば
三壬^{みぶのただみね}忠岑の歌に
春立つと、いふばかりにや、みよしのゝ、山もかすみで、今朝は見ゆらん
読人不知
空蟬の、わかよの限り、みるべきは、嵐の山の桜也^{なりけり}鳧
以って其風色の如何に、雅美なるやが知られる。斯る世界無比の樂園国に生れて誰れか国土尊
崇の念を発しないものがあるうぞ。斯る優美敦厚なる祖先の精神を追想しては、誰れか豁然と
して正義高潔の精神を喚起しないものがあるうぞ。而して上に万世一系の天皇

<46>

を戴きて毫も外国の侮りを受けたことのない日本国民は能く能く自国の家族制度の幸
福なる所以を幾重にも喜ばねばならないのである。

第二国民に要する信念

夫から第二国民たる一般児童に武士的信念即ち武士道の訓練を与えるの方法を講ぜねばな
らないのである。其れに就いて茲に少しく教育と訓練との区別を説いて、其の大体を明か
にしたいと思うのである。

一体教育と云うことは、被教育者の天稟を整理して之れを啓発せしむるものであ
って、即ち知育及び情育に

<47>

関するものである。訓練と云うことは、彼らの心性を矯正し養護するもので、即
ち意育に関するものである。其れだから、此の訓練と云うものは、どうしても幼少の時か
ら鍛えさせて置かねば堅固になるものでない。故に少し厳格に過ぎても、毅然として動か
ない、所謂確乎不拔の信念を与えねばならないのである。そこで児童の訓練には是非共吾

²⁷³ [訳者の現代語訳:] そもそも我が祖の諸天皇達はその位についたのは自身のためではない。神々や人々を導き天下を治め
るためである。ゆえに代々大いなる功績を広め、徳を流布してこられた。今朕は天運を受けその位を継承し民を愛養^{まぐみやしな}
ことになった。どのようにして、常に皇祖^{みあと}の御跡を継ぎ、永く極まりのない皇統を保持すべきか。群卿百僚^{まへつきみももつかさ}たちよ、
お前たちが忠義の心をつくし、共に天下を平安にすることより大事なことはなからう。

人の祖先であった武士が根本的操守として居た義勇、即ち武士道を採らねばならないことに至るのである。

然して武士道其のものを分解して之れを明確ならしむるには、余輩は明治十五年一月四日、我が大元帥 陸

<48>

下が陸海軍人に賜わりし勅諭の五箇条の真意を、陸海軍人に限らず一般国民の脳裡に刻記せしむることが一番捷徑であるのである。即ち五箇条とは、一忠節、二礼儀、三武勇、四信義、五質素の五つであって、之れを守らしむるには、勅諭にも之れを行わんには、一の誠心こそ大切なれ、心誠ならざれば如何なる嘉言も善行も皆なうわべの装飾にて何の用にかは立つべき。心に誠あれば何事も成るものぞかし。況してや此の五箇条は天地の公道人倫の常経なり。行く易く守り易しとある如く、武士道と云うも畢竟一の誠心と云うものを第一に置ねばならないのである。又

<49>

御製に

波風の静かなる日も、舟人は、楫に心を許さゞらなん

鍛へたる、劍の光り、著じるく、世に輝やか^{いくさびと}せ、我が軍人

即ち我が第二国民に、誠の心を寸衷^{すんちゆう}に推すと同時に、所謂治に居て乱を忘れざる敵愾^{てきがい}心と、劍光の著しきが如く進取的の氣象を有たせねばならないのである。

武士的信念養成の方法

偕^いて之れを、愈^{いよいよ} 実行するには、如何^{どう}したならば宜しからんと云うに、余輩は左の三方法を採るべきの心要を絶叫するのである。

<50>

一、 精神的養護、即ち武士的信念を一般児童に与うる為め、即ち武士道に関する金言嘉語、及び古今適當の言行を集めて其の粹を抜き、之れを抽象的に編纂したる教科書を、全国各小学校に充つること。

一、 体育的養護、即ち体力養成の為め全国各小学校に日本固有の武術科、即ち撃劍・鎗術・薙刀術等の稽古を為さしむること。

但し武器は務めて柔軟不傷のものを撰ぶものとす。

一、 右二科を新設するには、特に専務教員を撰んで之れが訓練に当らしむるものとす。

<51>

但し専務教員は児童の特別監督権を帯ばしむるものとす。

第一項の精神的養護、即ち武士的信念を与うると云うことは、即ち我建国の主旨に順適せる歴史的の因果に基づくものである。故に今日我國民に吾等祖先の優者で、高潔なる志を有って居た所の古武士の厳格な性格を養成せしむると云うことは、小児の心の潔白にして無邪気なる時に於てすることが一番必要なのである。恰^{ちやうど} 当児童と云うものは白紙のようなもので、濃い墨を付けても淡い墨を付けても、又如何なる色彩を施しても其れに應じて滲み込むものなのである。其れ故に児童の

<52>

ときに厳格な武士的信念を植付くるのは、^{あたか}恰も白紙に濃い墨を付くと同じようなもので、却って鮮明に付くものである。其処で茲に少しく武士的信念の根源、即ち忠君愛国と云うことを説明するの必要がある。

忠君愛国の説明

天照大神が三種の神器を皇孫^{にぎのみこと}瓊々杵尊に授け給ひて葦原千五百秋之瑞徳国是吾子孫可王之地也宣爾皇孫就而治焉行矣宝祚之隆当与天壤無窮者矣と勅り賜いしことと、此鏡者專為我御魂而如拝吾伊都岐奉の詔を下し給いし二大勅諭を、又大伴の祖先が、うみゆかば、み

<53>

つくかばね、やまゆかば、くさむすかばね、おほぎみの、へにこそしなめ、かへりみはせじと、ことたてる訓言と

おほぎみの、みことかしこみ、つまわかれ、かなしくはあれども、ますらをの、こゝろふりおこし、とりよそい、かどでをすれば、云々の則言の主旨即ち国体の根本的精神が、畢竟此の忠君愛国の四字になるのである。

体力養成の必要

夫から之れに次いで、一つ是非云わなければならぬことは、即ち体格の健全養成のことである。如何に忠君愛国の念に富んで居ても、身体が弱かったならば何の役

<54>

にも立つものでない。独り国家の役に立たないばかりでない。体格の不健全は第一自己の幸福を全うすることが出来ないのである。身体が弱い為めに何時も不愉快に日を送るによりて、自然精神が不活発になり、為めに社会の競争場裏に立って人に劣らず働くことが出来なくなり、竟に家庭の不和を招き、一家の経営を全うすることが出来ないようなことになるのである。西哲もあらゆる人生の幸福は、身体生活の健全に基づくものと云ったのは、実に千古の金言である。猶左に最も適切な証例即ち体育の起源及び体育の実例に就いて之れを述べんに。

<55>

昔し印度に於て釈迦以前、^{婆らもん}婆羅門の宗徒が修学をするに当りて、唯だ一室にのみ立ち籠り勉強して居て、少しも体育と云うことに注意しなかった為め、最早修業も了^おえんとする場合になって、^{にわ}俄かに死する者が多かつて、折角の勉強も空しく水泡に帰することがあった為め、茲に始めて身体の養成と云うことに気が付いて、活発なる運動をすることになった。其結果竟に後世の所謂^{あんま}按摩十八勢・婆羅門十二法と云うものを案出することになったものである。

夫れから今少しく之れを歴史の上から見ると、往古の英雄^{テムジン}鉄木真や帖木兒や歴^{アレキ}山王^{サンδρο}や撒諾^{シーザー}やが、何万何十万

<56>

と云う大軍を率いて、万里遠征をなしたるが如き、皆な当時の人間の身体が非常に強壮であったからである。其他^{ナポレオン}奈波烈翁でも、^{ビスマルク}比斯麥克でも、家康でも、清正でも、上

杉謙信でも、武田信玄でも、皆な身体が非常に強壯であつた。奈波烈翁の如きは、三昼夜も馬上に乗り続け、軍事を指揮して居て其れで少しも身体に障りがなかつたと云うに至つては、其身体の如何に強壯であつたかと云うことが知られるのである。それから現に今日我が東京市に於て、毎年徴兵検査に於ける成績の如何を統計的に調査して見ると、年々一割乃至一割半の不合格者の増加を見るので、当局者も其辺に就いて非常に心

<57>

配して、之れが救済策を講じて居ると聞く。畢竟是れ青年者及び其父兄が身体の要請と云うことを重んぜなかつた原因に基くものであると云うことは明らかなる事実である。

既に体育即ち身体の健全養成と云うことは、あらゆる人生幸福の基礎であると云うことが一定した上は、其の体育に最も有益なるものは何のであるかと云うものを撰ぶことの必要がある。そこで茲に西洋式の器械体操と、日本固有の武術との比較的優劣論が起るのである。今余輩が此処に極めて公平な考いを以て之れを云うときは、一体機械的運動と云うものは、身体の運動

<58>

を不偏ならしめて、身体全部の発達を促がすもので、武術的運動は概して腕力及び腰部の筋力を強くするものであるが故に、身体の發育上から云うときは、機械的運動の方が好い。又筋力を烈しく多く使用するが為め身体を輕捷にすると云うことは、どうしても武術的運動の方が宜しいのである。

夫れから武術的運動は今一の長所がある。即ち勝敗と云う競争的意志を有たしむるが故に勇往敢為の氣象を鼓舞するの益ありて、精神上非常なる刺激を与え、間接に智力を進取的にするの効力がある。故に日本武術はどうしても、之れを機械的運動と共に併せ行うべき

<59>

ものである。就中、日本武術の中、撃剣と柔術とは共に尤も精神的修養に大必要あるによつて、之れも尚ながら併せ遣る方が大効益がある。何となれば柔術は防禦的に属し、撃剣は攻撃的に属するもので、此の防禦的と攻撃的との運動は、即ち心身の氣合的活力を生ぜしむるの最も欠くことの出来ない必要があるからである。

(注意)

下章は武道の奥秘を説いて、以て各人が処世上に於ける千変万化の機微を穿ちたるものなるにより、一般の読者宜しく再三再四玩味して、其の真意のある所を補足悟了せられんことを切に之れが注意を希望する

<60>

のである。

剣法秘訣

武道觀念

- 一 術者は負くる所と勝たざる所とを知るべし。是れを知るは則ち勝つ所を知るものなり。負くる所と云うは即ち勝つ所なり。勝たざる所と云うは即ち負くる所なり。其負くる

所は己れにあり、其勝たざる所は敵にあり。^{みだ}妄りに勝たんと欲するものは其負くる所を知らざるが故なり。負くる所を勝たんと欲するものは其勝つ所を知らざるが故なり。故に我れ勝たざれ

<61>

ば負けず我負けざれば勝つことなし。十分の勝に十分の負あり。十分の負に十分の勝あり。故に勝って其負くる所を知り、負けて其勝つ所を知るは術の至極なり。我事理を謹しみ、彼の事理を察し、敵に因り機に臨んで^{すべから}須く変化すべし。

- 一 構いと云うは天中地陰陽の五行なり。^{おのおの}各 其の一に亦た五つの変あり。古伝に構いを陰陽の二に分てり。体剣に^{あた}中り、体剣に中ると云う、是れなり。然りと雖ども、陰の構いに陽の変あり。陽の構いに陰の変あり。故に其の構いに陰陽の得失なし。何にしても手に得、心に応ずるを以て是れを用うべし。伝に専ら用うると云う

<62>

構いなし。其用捨は我にあり。構いを以て専ら利を得んと欲するものは、外実にして内必ず虚す。是れを構いに心を取らると云う。誤って心を構い取るものは、合う時は即ち勝ち、合わざる時は^{たちま}忽ち負く。是れ内外虚実に拘わるが故なり。夫れ構いは元来無形のものにして、内外虚実の区別もなければ、合不合の得失もなきものなり。是れ無事の全体にして剣心相一致するの位なり。故に陰の構いにして陰にあらず。陽の構いにして陽にあらず。所謂、電光石火、心形を其備えに止まらしめざるを無形の構いと云う。学者須らく^{このほん}這般の秘訣を能く玩味して鍛錬すべし。

<63>

- 一 威は節に臨んで変ぜず、其備え正明にして事理に転ぜざるを云う。変ぜずして敵を利するは勢なり、是れを転化の位と云う。威は静にして千変を具し、勢は動にして万化に^{がっ}応ず。故に威を以て敵に^{がっ}合し、勢を以て敵に勝つものなり。威と勢とは二つにして一つなり、一つにして二つなり。威に勢あり。勢に威あり。不転の全体は十方に通貫す。而して恐敵もなく疑^ぎ我もなし。此の如くなれば、威は自から我に備わり、勢は自から其威に備るものなり。
- 一 移^いとは月の水に移るが如し。是を棒心の位と云う事に着くなり。写^{しや}とは水の月を写すが如し。是を殘心の

<64>

位と云う、離るることなり。理を以て之れを示す時は水月と云う。^{わざ}事にて之れを伝うる時は移写と云う。^{まなこ}眼を以て見る所を^{めつけ}目付と云う。心を以て守る所を移と云う。^{わざ}事を以て攻るを写を云うなり。水月に遠近の差別なし。若し遠近を攻めんと欲するものは、却って移を失う。是れ其の移に心を取るが故なり。月無心にして水に移り、水無念にして月を写す。内に一念生ぜずんば、^{わざ}事能く外に^{わざ}応ず。故に邪念を生ぜざるときは、能く水月の全体に至るべきものなり。

- 一 利は事よりも先に立ち、体は剣よりも先んず。之れを所作の病氣と云うなり。外に向
って其利を求むが

<65>

故なり。臨機応変の事は思慮を以て転化するものにはあらず。自然の利を以
て之に应ぜば、思わざれども転じ、量らざれども化するものなり。利を先立てず伝
授するものは、一を主とするの利なり。我が応ずる所の一利を敬して思慮の分別を起
さず、一心不乱にして其勝利を疑わざるを本分の位に認得すると云うなり。是れ事の
伝授を以て正利に至るの執行なり。高上に至っては、一心不乱と云う沙汰もなく、
一利を敬する差別もなし。内外一片に打ち成して、善もなく悪もなく、千刀万剣を唯
一心に具足し、十方に通貫して殺活自在なり。是れ一心の執行を以て事

<66>

利異らざるに至る位なり。千変の事は唯一より発す。其一は無形無心の全体な
り。譬えば水の如し。水に常の形なし。故に能く方円の器に随う。是れ利を先立てず
伝授するなり。体を先立てず伝授するに剣体前後と云う口伝あり。其の術は其刃を以
て利をなすの法なり。故に剣あれば事あり。事あれば利あり。心は事の本なり。体
は剣の本なり。其本裏にあつて、末表にあるを虚と云う。実は必勝の位、虚は必負の
位なり。利業よりも先んずるとき、剣何を以て人を害せん。故に能く其本を正うし
て、能く其末を治むべきものなり。而して其の得失は執行の功如何によるものとす。

<67>

- 一 事外に頼むるものは、外に应じて其内を利し、事を内に持するものは、内に随うて其
の外を利し、内外の縁に因って好む所に应じ、悪む所に従うべし。敵の虚実^にに因って
本を攻めて末を勝つ、或は末を攻めて本を勝つ、或は本末俱に攻めて、本末共に勝つ。
故に事を持って之れを攻むれば、則ち利之れを守る。利を以て之れを攻むれば、則
ち事之れを守る。内外専ら攻むれば、則ち過ち表にあり。内外全く守れば、則ち過ち
裏にあり。故に攻むるは其守る所にあり、守るは其攻むる所にあり。攻むるも攻むる
にあらず、攻めざれば勝つことを得ず。守るも亦た守るにあらず、守らざれば勝

<68>

つことを得ず。是れを残不残の伝授と云うなり。学者須らく此处に鑑みて能く
本末を正うすべし。

- 一 事に利を持つを先に守ると云い、利に業を持つを後に守ると云う。先に止まれば則ち
後に利があり、後を守れば則ち先に利なし。事利先後に止まらざるを、剣術の主要と
す。先後は敵にあり、我是れを守るにあらず。先後一事の位と云うは、全く先にあら
ず後にあらず。先なる時は後も是を兼ね、後なるときは先是れに備わる。強弱軽重の
こと何れも同じ。其事一にして而かも二なり。其利二にして而かも一なり。天にある
かと思へば忽ち天にあり、動かざることは山の如く、其の

<69>

発するに至っては電光石火の如し。是れ一心先後に止まらざるが故に、万事に通じて、先後求めずとも自から転化するなり。然りと雖ども事^{わざ}は自己の心身手足に能く得たることこれあるにより、先を得たるものは専ら先を以って利を得、後を得たるものは専ら後を守って理を得、強弱輕重進退長短の事^{こと}、何れも亦た然るなり。故に其事^{わざ}の能く身心に得るものは、外^{ほか}に向って求むる所なし。他に之れを求めざれば、一心其所作に転ぜず、是れ即ち先後止まらざる謂いなり。能く術に達するものは、先に止まりて先に奪われず、事^{わざ}を守っても心事^{わさ}に止まらず、利を守っても事利^{わさ}に

<70>

奪われず。形あるかと思れば全く形なく、形なきかと思れば正に形あり。是れを邪正一如の位と云う。事利^{じり}の外^{ほか}に於て勝利を得るもの誠に術の達したるもの、是れ兵法の本心なり。蓋し究竟窮極軌を存せず、則ち是を心に得、是を手に応ずるものは、心は心、事^{わざ}は事^{わざ}、我は我、敵は敵、何れ^{いつ}に向かつて何れを求めん。唯自然の功を以って伝授を用捨て、妙の位に至る者なり。

- 一 先に体用の二つあり、備え不変にして無事を以って攻むるを体の先と云い、已^{すで}に変じて随う処形に現わるるを用^{よう}の先と云う。体の先は体を以って攻め、用を以って守る。是れ敵の利を奪うて其備を破り合する

<71>

を以って攻むるなり。其の利を表とし、其の業^{わざ}を裏とす。用の先は用を以って攻め、体を以って守る。是れ敵の備を破り其の業を奪離するを以って攻むるなり。其業を表とし、其利を裏とす。若し体用攻守の事理を知らず、妄に乗じて勝たんと欲するものは、自から首を延ばして討たれ、手を出して斬らるるに同じ。能く是を鍛錬すべし。

- 一 後者敵の体と用とを利する二つにあり。敵体を持って勝んと欲せば、其志す所に随うて其の用を殺すべし。用を以って利せんと欲せば、其の理^{おき}むる所に応じて其体を破るべし。来って残るものを末に応じ、来って

<72>

残らざるものを本に制すべし。本動じて末静なるものを本に制すべし。本動じて末静なるものを其本を利し、本正うして末乱るるものを残して是に応じ、本末俱に同ずるものは是れ大過なり。其虚を利すべし。本末俱に静なるものは是れ不及なり。其实を利すべし。虚中に実あり、実中に虚あり。大過は不及に同じ。不及亦た大過の如し。口伝に云う、其形に随うて其色を追う、則ち形に奪わるるなり。先に奪わる則ち後に利なし。故に其形に向かつて其色を殺す。向殺の二つは一体一用の事^{こと}なり。向を以て殺し、殺すを以って向う。茲に至って其先後と云う差別もなく、先は則ち後なり

<73>

後は則ち前なり。剣体の備、強弱本末の得失は、皆事執行の功より事理一物の全体に至て、前後不転の事に備わるものなり。此の理微妙にして伝えて之れを学び難し。実に以心伝心なり。

- 一 勝負の要は間なり。我利せんと欲すれば、彼亦た利せんと欲す。我れ往かんとすれば彼亦た来る。剛臆遅速の前後に因って、必生必死の定まる所となる。故に間に一毛を容れず、其危亡を顧みず速かに其の利に乗じて殺活の一的能奪の位に到る可きものなり。

我れ懸待に拘わらず、則ち間は明白にして其位に在り。是れ則ち殺人刀・活人剣なり。間に遠近の差別なし

<74>

懸待亦た異なる事なし。術者間を守って変を待たず、人に致されずして疾く其位を取るべし。

- 一 敵の事を以て我事とし、敵の利を以て我利とす。是を鸚鵡の位と云う。強きものを強く、弱きものを弱く、撃つ者を撃ち、突くものを突く。千変の事何れも此の如し。是を的の事に向ふと云う。強きものを弱く、弱きものを強く、撃つ者を請け、請くるものを外す、万化の利何れも此の如し。此を敵の利に随うと云う。実を以て来るものには実を以て向い、虚を以て来るものには虚を以て随う。敵能くして不能の事を示すときは、我又不能にして事を示すべし。術は実を備

<75>

えて虚に変じ、虚を示して実に備う。故に敵に向うとき愚にして先ず負くるは謀なり。誠に兵は詭道なりと云うも宜なり。唯自然の功を以てせば、虚実一体にして備わり、詭も亦た誠となる。能く之れを自知すべき而已。

- 一 術の利を云うは、我一を以て敵の二に応ずる所なり。譬えば撃にて請け、外しにして撃つ。是れ一を以て二に応ずるなり。請けて打ち外して切るは、一を以て一に応じ、二を以て二に応ずるなり。一を以て二に応ずる時は必ず全勝、一を以て一に応じ、二を以て二に応ずる時は、或は勝或は負、一を二と行う時

<76>

は忽ち負く。千変の事共能く鍛錬すべし。

- 一 万化の事を捨てて一変の利を主とせば、則ち心不変の位に備わる。是を思無邪と云う。故に敵に因て転化する千刀一剣の秘訣は、皆事の功に至るべき執行なれば、自然に積功を以て、其秘訣を悉く心に得、心に修めて、始めて転変自由にして百戦百勝の全体に至るものとす。剣道に単刀の本位と云うは術の巧を撰ばず、千変万化の事理に拘わらず一心不変の単刀を以て、敵の事理未発の以前より全勝するものなり。
- 一 剣道に長短の分ちあり。我長なる時は体を以て利を写し、我短なる時は体を以て利を移し、長短須ら

<77>

く移写の機に因って転化すべし。彼と我と事利平等にして、其得失を考うるに、長は短を利するに過ぎず、短は長を撃つに及ばず、是れ其形に一得あるが故なり。事は形を以て本と為す。其形に得あるものは、事の変化行い易し。変化行い易き、則ち其利も自から正し。然りと雖ども長短は自己の手に得たるを以て利とす。故に剣刀の寸尺に定法なし。長、利と為すと雖ども、我に応ぜざるときは全く利なく、短、及ばずと雖ども、我之れを得れば則ち却って利あり。故に長にして短を欺かず、短にして長に奪われざるを長短の一味と云うなり。然るを剣刀の長短に拘わり、或は其刃を撰

<78>

び、心其器に拘われれば、則ち術の本心を失う。我心に吹毛の剣を対するもの、何ぞ刀剣の長短に拘わらんや。縦令利剣を提げても、肉を切らずんは是れ鈍刀なり。鈍刀にして骨を砕く、即ち是れ利剣なり。一心清浄の刃能く磨くものは、即ち提ぐる所の刀剣は吹毛の剣なり。本来の一刀を刹那も身を離るる事なし。時に須て殺活自在なり。然りと雖ども長は勝ち短は負く、長短等しきは一たびは勝ち一たびは負く、不足には勝ち不及には負け、相対は或は勝ち或は負く、是れ理の数なり。然るに己れ分限を知らず、我れ頑固にして他の善悪共に利せんと欲す、是れ非道なり。勝負無限は

<79>

自然の妙利なり。或時は勝ち或時は負く、勝つべきに却って負け、負くべきに全勝、或は俱死或は俱生す。是も是にあらず、非も非にあらず。何に向ってか勝つ事を示し、何に向ってか負くる処を悲まんや。其得失は唯天道自然の妙利なり。然らば則ち勝負の是非を思わず、生死を放って其得失は天運に任し、我心の大敵を殺斬せば、則ち十方に敵なきなり。敵なきときは何を以て負けん。若し此処に向って来らんと欲するものは自滅す。是を知るものは智なり、功なり。是を行うものは勇なり、術なり。

一 彼と我と分て不思に來り不量に去り、待つに來らず

<80>

来る所は扼ぐ。我此の如くなれば、彼も亦た同じく其思わざる所を撃ち、其の量らざる所に応ず。其変無窮にして其化常なし。理を以て万機に応ぜば、彼と我と一体不二なり。我思う所を彼も思い、彼の量る所を我亦た量る。其事理動寂一にして鏡に向って影の移るが如し。茲に至って勝つべき事もなく知るべき理もなし。若し勝たんと欲すれば即ち負く、勝ざれば忽ち負く。勝ざるは是れ術にあらず。修むる者須らく是れを三思すべし。

剣法は無形なる事

大極は元と無極、水は方円の器に随うて形を生ずれど

<81>

も、元は無形なり。剣法も亦た然り。初心の内は構^{かま}と云う事を専らとして、業^{わざ}の遣方^{やりかた}を教諭するなれども、元と構いは形なきものなり。然れども水の方円の器に随うて形を生ずる如く、構も亦た敵に対して形を生ず。假令^{たと}えば上段・中段・正眼・下段・脇構・逆構・霞・陰陽等、流派に依りて種々の構えあれども、其千変万化の妙に至りては、皆一機に帰するものなり。猶陳法に魚鱗^{ぎょりん}・鶴翼^{かくよく}・雁行^{がんこう}・鋒矢^{ほうし}・穹月^{わんげつ}・衡振^{こうしん}・五行^{ごぎよう}・八陳^{はちじん}・相懸^{そうけん}・待備^{たいび}・一二三の備^{かいび}・左右廻備^{きゆういち}・九一の格^く・獅振龍^{ししんりゆう}・常蛇^{じようだ}・長蛇などなど色々の名あれども、敵陣の変に依って形を生ずるが如し。然るを其理を知らずして形ばかりを作りて、変化の理に疎きものあり。俗に云う佛

<82>

作りて魂入れずと云うと同説なり。譬^{たと}えば忽然後よりか又は左右よりか、奇兵の難あらば、頭変じて尾となり、右変じて左となる事、兵家の常^{こと}に心得べき事^{こと}なり。之を未萌^{みほう}の変動と云う。故に必ず敵に依って形を生ずるものにして、我れより形を生ずるものにあらざるなり。猶将棋指すものの手に、駒歩あるは奇なり、打駒は廻し^{そなえ}・伏覆^{ふくかく}の兵なり。刀術も又然るなり。形法の遣い方伝刀の類と雖ども、皆定跡^{ていせき}の駒組^{ひと}と均し。去れば、形有って無きに同じ事なり。其理を覚知して自然と熟し得て、其期に臨んで事せずして業する業を、誠の業と云うなるべし。唯手足を慣らし置きて理に悟れば、極秘に至る近道

<83>

なるべし。古人も奇正は敵にあり、虚実是我にあり。応変は双方^{しきあい}の至臍^{しき}にありと云えり。豈に格言ならずや。

試合に望んで打つべき塩合^{しおあい}274の事

双方相對して仕合に望むに、無尽の変動生ずるにより、懸中待^{けんちゅうたい}・待中懸^{たいちゅうけん}を覚すれば、懸待一致に至り、業熟^{わざ}して理に至り、理究^{きわま}って業に至る時は、業理^{わざ}一体に至る。斯の如く至臍に通ずれば、打つに跡なく出るに形なく、所謂九天の上九天の下に出入するが如し。斯く無念無想の境には、音もなく臭^かもなく、鬼神も窺^{こと}う事能わざるなり。譬^{たと}えば鏡は物を写す故に、心に譬えて心鏡と云う。向うの心を鏡にかけて見れば、打たるるなし。若し写す心あれ

<84>

ば寔^{まこと}の心鏡とは謂い難し。寒山^{かんざん}の拾得^{じつとく}に送る心持を古歌に「払ふべき塵もあらぬに其箒持^{はき}つは心の塵のありてか」、拾得の心を又返歌に詠めるに「払ふべき塵もあらぬと云う塵を払わん為めの箒なりけり」と、面白き問答にて未だに無念に到らぬ事を云いしなり。鏡と云うものあれば、鏡と云う一物あり。依って写るべき鏡なくして写れるこそ、誠の心の極意なりけれ。古歌に「移るとも月は思わず移すとも水も思わぬ猿沢の池」、是れ

274 潮合い

名人上達の位に就いて述べたるものなれば、是れより常人目録以下の者へ、敵を打つべき塩合を述べて知らしむ。即ち常人の仕合には、必ず起り顕われ打つべき場合之有な

<85>

り。之れを塩合と云う。一には敵の実を避けて虚を打つべし。次には心より目に及ぶ処、敵の起りを打つべし。次には狐疑^{こぎ}を打つべし。次には居付^{いつけ}を打つべし。次には起より業^{わざ}に及ぶ処、懸り口を打つべし。次にはせかせて打つべし。亦た仕合に望むに八箇条の法あり。一に曰く、敵の粧^{よそおい}を見て可遣事^{やるべきこと}。二に曰く、立合の処敵の位を見て可遣事。三に曰く、敵の癖を見て可遣事。四に曰く、相太刀先のこと、敵の起頭を心て押し可遣事。五に曰く、打込に近きて、敵へは遠くして、我れよりは近くして可遣事。七に曰く、敵強く守らば虚実を以って可遣事。八に曰く、敵手元強くは拘わらぬこと不據^{よらず}して可遣事。是れを兵法に

<86>

敵強きは二三にして可勝^{かつべき}と云う。総て引揚こそ大切なれ、兵法にも敵を切崩すとも芝居をこぼす事勿れ、亦た敵を追い崩すとも引揚ぐる境を知るべしと云えり。深く思ふべき事^{こと}なり。

心気力一致の事

夫れ天地の大なるも理気の二つに出でず。四時の運行止まざるものは氣にして、其の然る所以のものは理なり。人此の理と氣とを受けて、天地の間に生じて氣の精爽なるものを心とす。故に心は天地正氣の一致して至誠至美なるものなり。彼の古歌に「年毎に咲くや吉野の桜花、木を割りて見よ花のある香は」と云いし桜花の香

<87>

こそ心なるべけれ。

氣は体の充てるものにて、譬えば心の将帥に随うて速かに動く士卒の如し。心の将帥堅固なれば満体の士卒も号令に随うて一同に動くものなり。

又将棋を指すは心なれども、将棋盤の端を叩きながら処は九重のと謡うは、氣にして即ち心の余なり。此氣と云うものは早移りして宜しけれども、心は氣に随うて動くものと思ふべし。

力と云うものは氣の通う処に随うてあるものなれども、充たざるときは弱く、充つときは強く、氣息呼吸の膂下に満ち亘る時は、一毛髪に至る迄力の充たざると

<88>

云う事なし。故に強は体にある、勇は心にあるものと心得べし。

劍術も数年稽古の上には、竹刀の切っ先き迄も強勇の満ち亘るものなり。是を業より出づる力と云う。扱此の心気力別々なるときは、劍法の用弁を致さず。譬えば砲薬の如し。硫黄・白硝・灰と別々にある時は、勢い至って弱く、三品合法する時は、其勢い当り難く、天地も震動するに至るが如し。

間髪を容れずと云うも、石火の機と云うも、敵の未発の氣を打つと云うも、又猫の鼠を捕うると云うも、皆な心気力一致の謂いなり。

<89>

事理問答

問うて曰く、剣法に事理と云う事あり。事とは何ぞや。答えて曰く、剣道は大強速軽の四つを以って根本とす。然れども此の四つに弊あり。大なるものは遅く、強なるものは固く、速なるものは小さく、軽なるものは弱きなり。此の弊のなきを真の大強速軽と云う。何れも正面のなりを失なわぬ故に、之れを事、則ち正とは云うなり。問うて曰く、理とは如何。答えて曰く、事の上に於て裏あるなり、是を奇と云う。所謂正を以って合わせ奇を以って勝つ。正を奇とし奇を正とす、之れを事理一致とは云うなり。

問うて曰く、是れ勝敗のある所歟。答えて曰く、勝負は唯

<90>

間際・権際・気際の三つを以って之れを決するなり。問うて曰く、此の三つのものは、如何。答えて曰く、彼れよりも来るべく我も往くべき、之を間際と云う。彼れに位を取り我よりも位を取る、是れ所謂権際なり。彼に気あり我に気ありて機をなさんとす、是れ所謂気際なり。問うて曰く、勝負の機とは如何。答えて曰く、氣と形と俱に発する之れを勝負の機と云う。

問うて曰く、此の如くなるときは必勝なるもの歟。答えて曰く、勝つべからざる事己にあり、勝つべきこと敵にあり、唯熟して妙に到るにあり。熟すれば則ち心よく手を忘れ、手よく剣鎗を忘れ、円神にして滞らず、之れに処

<91>

する裕如として変幻測りなく、敵に因って変化し以って其勝を取るに至るなり。

問うて曰く、事形の得失利害ありと云うは如何なる事ぞ。答えて曰く、今剣家の形に斜欹にして臨むものあり、是を挂形と名づく。挂形とは臨機応変に際して、挂って利あれば則ち挂り、挂って利あらざれば則ち挂らず、能く其事宜に従うを云う。夫れ習熟して変生ず、変生じて事形の利害得失起る。故に習い善なるときは則ち其変も亦た善なり。凡そ習いの法は環の端なきが如し。終って則ち始まり、始まって則ち終る。我其始終に処して而して自ら其始終を知らず。人も亦た窮むる所を知る事

<92>

なし。神にして神にあらず、是を習いの熟と謂う。

問うて曰く、伝に所謂必勝とは何ぞや。答えて曰く、能く人事を尽す、之れ即ち必勝なり。所謂学んで思わざるときは則ち罔し、思うて学ばざるときは則ち殆うしの言の如く、善く学び善く思うものは、飲食には則ち其箸を以ってし、被服には則ち其衣を以ってし、造次にも之れを学び、顛沛にも之れを思う、夫れ是の如くなれば安んぞ知らざるあらん。

問うて曰く、上手と下手との別、如何。答えて曰く、唯間際の機に処すると、処する事能わざるとにあるのみ。夫れ間際は勝負の大機なり。苟も其間際を弁ぜざるときは

<93>

則ち少許の功錬ありと雖ども、終に未だ勝負の域に到らざるものなり。上手下手の分るる所、実に此機一髪の間にある。

剣 道

法定形

はっ そう なり
八 相（初本目は也）

- 一 太刀を左脇に持ち地位を占む。
- 一 居合抜太刀心組して、太刀を体前に置き両手を各膝頭に置く。
- 一 氣^きあて充分なるとき、其氣位を保ちながら、沈静に敬礼を行う。

<94>

- 一 昇龍の心持を以って徐^{おもむ}ろに立つ。
- 一 右足を引き左足を引き揃え、又左足を進め、直次右足を進^{しんぜん}揃して、降龍の心持^{ばんきよ}を持って幡居す可し。

- 一 昇龍の心持にして、最初片手に太刀を採り起立す。
- 一 太刀を双手に握り、同時に左右共に少し宛^{つつ}進む。
- 一 太刀を上段に冠り、大円形に左右に開くと同時に左右足を引く少程。
- 一 右手に太刀を平円形に持ち、頭上に挙げると同時に交^{こもごも}々左右足を進揃す。
- 一 双手に太刀を握り上段に冠り、右肩部に廻らし同時に左足を進め。

<95>

- 一 切声を掛け、右足を進め打込む（打太刀即ち受身方之れに反して左右足交々引く）。
 - 一 交々突進する氣勢たるべし（打太刀方は受身方の太刀先を押ゆる也）
 - 一 太刀先を右方に廻わし、右足を引き同時に太刀を上段に冠り打ち込む氣勢を以って太刀^たを堅て、氣^きあての如くして已^やむ（打太刀は之を受くるが為に太刀を横一文字に出すなり）。
- 同時に左足を前方に進め、即ち右足と共^{きようぜん}揃するなり。

一 太刀先を左方に廻わし、右足を引き、同時に太刀を上段に冠り打込む氣勢をして軽く太刀を敵の頭上に延ばし、同時に右足を進め左右足を並揃、氣当す。

- 一 左足を前方に進め、互に太刀を上段に冠り（打太刀を敵の小手

<96>

を切落す氣勢にて、上段より太刀を斜に左方に引落し、太刀の平を出し置くなり）、受太刀方は敵我れを見掛けて打込み来るとき、左足を引くと同時に其体を引き、敵の打込み外したるとき、即時に其太刀を打落す氣勢を以って切声を掛け、敵の太刀の中央を強く打つべし。打つと同時に右足を挙ぐ。次ぎに双手を（下腹部に当てて）左右に開き（太刀先を上外に向けるは初めの如くになすなり）、是に於て初本終る断り。

一刀両断（二本目はれなり）

- 一 双手太刀を上段に冠り、大円形に左右に開き、左右足を交々少し宛引く。
- 一 双手（初本は平円形にて片手なれ共、二本目は双手にて上段に取る）太刀を上段に採り、同時

<97>

に左右を進め、次で右足を進揃す。

一 上段より太刀先を前方（腹部の辺なり）に卸し、敵の虚実を伺う。次に又上段に冠り、其時打太刀進来て、太刀を横一文字に突き出す。時に仕太刀は、其太刀を押えて気当声を掛け進出す（打太刀留まる時は仕太刀共に留まる）。留まりて後に左足を出し、同時に太刀を軽く合せ（是は打つに非ず、只双方合すなり）、太刀先を左に廻わし、上段に冠り、打声を掛けて右足を進めながら打込、直に太刀を左側身胸間に取り突出の勢を為す。（但左手は少々右手より高方に）双手を下腹部に揃え（両足共一様に揃並す）左右に開く事初本の如く、是に於て二本目終る。終りに太刀を上段に冠り前に出で、太刀の

<98>

背を右方に向け、片手にて以って降龍の心持にて踞る氣勢を保ちながら、太刀を納むる心持にて太刀を左脇に取りて敬礼を行う。

切り返し

剣道を学ぶには、第一切り返しと云うことを心得ねばならぬ。切り返しは剣道の根本で、太刀を上段に冠り十字形を切り結ぶを云うものである。筋力を強くし身体の動作を自在にし、以って変幻出没の動きをなすには、能く此の切り返しの稽古を熟練せねばならぬ。所謂心手相一致して、心手能く剣を忘れるようにならねばならぬ。千遍万遍復習して而して後ち始めて上達するも

<99>

のなれば、迂遠なりとして切り返しを熟練せぬときは、肝要のときに際して中々太刀先きが思うように遣われる為め、竟には太刀敗けをするようになる。鴻鵠は能く大海を超ゆるものである。然れども其初めは一尺飛び、三尺飛び、段々飛び習いて、竟には大空を翔けるに至るのである。剣術も矢張り同じことで、同じことを繰り返し繰り返して、熱心に持続するときは、自然と妙処に到るものであれば、初学のものは特に注意すべきことである。

武道の注意

昔しの武士は真に行儀が正しいもので、言葉穏かに起

<100>

振舞が優に、そうして信義と云うものを余程重んじて居ったものである。然れども一朝義理人情に合わぬようなことがあったならば、身命にかけても糺したものである。なかんづく就中師弟の間柄と云うものは極めて厳格なもので、入門の際には必ず誓いを立てて、以後は聊かも侵すことがなかった。而かも其の情に至っては誠に篤いもので、師は生徒を我が子の如くに愛し、生徒は亦た師を我が父の如くに敬したのである。それゆえに師は常に生徒の上達立身するのを樂みとし、生徒も亦たけんけん眷々として終生師の恩を忘れなかった。然るに現時に於ける教師生徒の間柄と来ては、昔しのような感化的な親

<101>

切敦厚な美風や、毅然犯すことの出来ない厳格な良習は、殆んど夢にも見るものの出来ないようになってしまった。意志の堅固ならざる、思想の健全ならざる、体姿の雄壮ならざるも、亦た偶然ではないのである。宜なるかな、行儀や品行は丸で崩れてしまつて、志は小成に安んじ、学業は大成を期せず、唯小利口なもの計り殖えて、立派な人物が出来ないのには、実に国家の為め遺憾千万と云わなければならぬ。

来たれ諸子、意気の軒豪を欲するもの、品格の高きを欲するもの、学業の大成を欲するもの、身体の強壯を欲するものは、奮って武道の門に遊んで、卿等が頼む文との

<102>

調和を計られよ。依って左に聊か武道の心得を記して、之れを示さんと思うのである。

武道心得

一 入門せんと思うものは、先輩者の署名したる紹介状に、履歴書を添えて差出すべきものである。

二 武道に入らんとするものは、爾後相互に精神を清うせんとの目的にて、扇子一対を納むべきの礼である。

三 入門しようと思うものは、誓書を出して大成を期し、決して中途にて武道を廃すべからざるものである。

<103>

四 武門に入りたるものは、武道場を神の在す靈場の如くに心得、決して武を流すべからざるものである。

五 武門に入りたるものは、品行方正に言語挙動を謹しみ、決して粗暴野卑の振舞をなすべからざるものである。

六 武門に入りたるものは、第一に常に忠君愛国の念を主とし、一朝緩急ありたるときは、義勇公に報じ、決して卑怯未練の行為あるべからざるものである。

七 武門に入りたるものは、信義を重んじ礼節を旨と

<104>

し、決して虚言詐偽、若くは争鬪の仕打をなすべからざるものである。

八 武門に入りたるものは、務めて同情の念を博うし、義侠の志を大にし、客気を制すべきものである。

九 入門したるものは、常に身体の剛健なるべきことを計り、嚴霜指を落とすが如き節の寒稽古や、若しくは野稽古の如きは、務めて之れを為すべきものである。

十 入門したるものは、稽古積んで中段に至るときは切紙状を授けて之れを励まし、猶進んで上段に至りたる時は、目録を授けて其の術に進みたるを証

<105>

し、更らに進んで上手に至りたる時は、免許状を授けて其の術の達したる証し、併せて口伝の秘訣を授くるものである。

武道私見

優勝劣敗・弱肉強食とは、彼の恐るべく厭うべき殺害争奪を是れ事とする動物社会の現象を意味したる古人の警語にして、法律規約の制裁・道德宗教の訓戒ありと雖ども、之れを蹂躪して顧みざるの優勢強力なる凶暴者に遇うに至りては、亦た如何んともする無きことを覚悟せしめたる者なり。然れば則ち、今日の生存は明日の滅亡となり、今日の尊榮は明日の屈辱たるも亦た知

<106>

るべからず。苟くも社会に生存し、殊に忠君愛国を理想とする吾人々類に在りては、豈に猛省厳戒し、極力之れを防衛するの術を講ぜざるべけんや。其術とは何ぞや。富国強兵此二者あるのみ。而して富国の基は勤儉に在り、強兵の要は鍊武に存することは、児童走卒も能く解する所、恨むらくば人多くは唯之を口にして之を心にせず。之を心にして之を行いにせず、動もすれば之れに反するの行動を敢てして憚からざるを。彼の一二の戦勝以来、上下の人士漸く奢侈に趨り、随うて日に柔惰に陥り、為めに戊辰の勅諭を下し給うの已むなきに至る。何ぞ恐悚に堪べけんや。蓋し奢侈なるものは勤儉を忌

<107>

み、柔惰なる者は勇武を嫌う。是れ人の常情にして、古今亡国の因一に茲に存す。是れ我輩が切に鍊武奨励を絶叫する所にして、古人の所謂居治不忘乱の用意も、畢竟此の趣旨に外ならざるなり。然るに今や我国、世界強国の伍班に列し、益々文明隆運に赴くと雖ども、而かも世道人心共に衰頽に傾き、国民の元氣漸く消磨し、国民の体格亦た脆弱に赴きて、此の千古貴ぶべき勤儉勇武の美風を失わんとするに慨し、不肖余輩は曩きに微力を顧みずして一会を起し、武を研ぎ胆を練り、以って健全の体力と健剛の精神とを有する人士を養成し、一旦緩急があれば義勇公に報じて、此の天壤無窮の皇恩に酬い

<108>

奉らんと欲す。是れ余輩が日常眷々服膺して寤寐も之れを忘れざる所以にして、此の武勇勤儉の道を盛大ならしむるは、独り余輩の希望のみならず、実に国民一般の希望ならんと確信す。敢て肝胆を披瀝して一片の私見を述ぶと云爾。

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