

【翻訳】

## 荻生徂徠『弁名』「禮」の章の英訳

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Ogyū Sorai, On Distinguishing Names, Book 1, Li.

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As in previous installments of this translation we depend on the erudition of Professor Nishida Taichiro, the editor and translator of the edition of Sorai's 『弁名』 which appears in Iwanami's Nihon Shisō Taikēi, and the editors of Meiji Shoin's Shinshaku Kanbun Taikēi. Abbreviations can be found in previous installments of this translation.

キーワード: Sorai, Benmei, Li, Zhu Xi, Jinsai

禮三則 *Li*: Three Rules.

禮者。道之名也。先王所制作四教六藝。是居其一。所謂經禮三百。威儀三千。是其物也。六藝。書數爲庶人在官者府史胥徒專務。御亦士所職。射雖通乎諸侯。其所謂射。以禮樂行之。非若民射主皮者比焉。唯禮樂乃藝之大者。君子所務也。而樂掌於伶官。君子以養德耳。至於禮則君子以此爲顯業。是以孔子少以知禮見稱。之周問禮於老聃。之郊之杞之宋。唯禮之求。子夏所記。曾子所問。七十子皆斷斷於禮。見檀弓諸篇。三代君子之務禮。可以見已。

Rule 1. *Li* is a name of *dao*. It is one of both the four teachings <sup>1</sup>

and the six attainments<sup>2</sup> which the former kings made. Its concrete contents are what is spoken of as the 300 fundamentals and the 3,000 details.<sup>3</sup> Among the six attainments writing and arithmetic are the special duties of the custodians of written records and (ceremonial) vessels, scribes, foremen, and manual laborers, all of whom are civil servants of common origin recruited by the ministers.<sup>4</sup> Charioteering is the province of officials.<sup>5</sup> Archery extends all the way into the province of the vassal lords, but their archery is carried out to the accompaniment of *li* and music.<sup>6</sup> It is not to be compared to the archery of the common people in which striking the leather target is the main object.<sup>7</sup> *Li* and music alone are the supreme attainments which the *junzi* masters. And music [performance] is the exclusive duty of the hereditary court musicians, so all that the *junzi* can employ it for is to cultivate his *de*. But when it comes to *li*, the *junzi*<sup>8</sup> makes it his speciality. Thus Confucius was known for his familiarity with *li* at an early age. He went to Zhou and asked Laozi about *li*;<sup>9</sup> he went to Tan, to Qi, and to Song,<sup>10</sup> only to seek out their *li*. That Confucius' seventy disciples all vied with each other to practice *li* can be seen in the records of Zi Xia,<sup>11</sup> the questions of Cengzi,<sup>12</sup> and the Tangong chapters.<sup>13</sup> It can be seen thereby that the *junzi* of the three dynasties practiced *li*.

蓋先王知言語之不足以教人也。故作禮樂以教之。知政刑之不足以安民也。故作禮樂以化之。禮之爲體也。蟠於天地。極乎細微。物爲之則。曲爲之制。而道莫不在焉。君子學之。小人由之。學之方。習以熟之。默而識之。至於默而識之。則莫有所不知焉。豈言語所能及哉。由之則化。至於化。則不識不知。順帝之則。豈有不善哉。是豈政刑所能及哉。

I believe that the former kings knew that words were insufficient for teaching the people and thus they made *li* and music in order to teach them. They knew that law and punishments were insufficient to bring stability to the people so they made *li* and music to transform them.<sup>14</sup> The substance of *li* encompasses *Tian* and earth,<sup>15</sup> penetrating to the finest particle, providing everything with its rule, regulating the tiniest element, so that *dao* is everywhere. The *junzi* learns this and the little man obeys it. The *dao* of learning [*li*] is by repetition and attaining mastery, and in silence it will be known.<sup>16</sup> If one reaches the point where one knows it in silence, then there remains nothing that one does not know. How could language ever reach a point where it could make this possible! To obey this is to be transformed. “Before you knew it, totally unawares/You obeyed my laws (said the Lord of *Tian* to King Wen).”<sup>17</sup> How then could (such a person) who is not good ever be! How could laws and punishments ever be able to reach such a point!

夫人言則喻。不言則不喻。禮樂不言。何以勝於言語之教人也。化故也。習以熟之。雖未喻乎。其心志身體。既潛与之化。終不喻乎。且言而喻。人以爲其義止是矣。不復思其餘也。是其害。在使人不思已。禮樂不言。不思不喻。其或雖思不喻也。亦未如之何矣。則旁學它禮。學之博。彼是之所切劘。自然有以喻焉。學之既博。故其所喻。莫有所遺已。且言之所喻。雖詳說之。亦唯一端耳。禮物也。衆義所苞塞焉。雖有巧言亦不能以尽其義者也。是其益在默而識之矣。先王之教。是其所以爲至善也。是禮樂之教。雖在默而識之。然人之知。有至焉。有不至焉。故孔子有時乎拳一隅以語其義。義者先王所以制禮之義。戴記所載皆是已。祇人之知。有至焉。有不至焉。故七十子之信先王者。不及孔子之信先王也。其人信七十子者。亦不及七十子之信孔子也。故其欲喻人之急。論說其義之弗已。

日以蔓衍。以至於戰國之時。義遂離乎禮而孤行。不復就禮言其義。觀孟子書可見已。自此其後。去古益遠。義理之說益盛。囂然以亂天下。先王孔子之教。蕩乎盡焉。悲夫。

Well, if words are used people understand and if words are not used people do not understand. *Li* and music do not use words so how do they surpass words in teaching the people? They do so by transforming. If by repetition one attains mastery, though one may not understand [intellectually] yet, inwardly the workings of one's *xin* and the body have already been transformed. In the end one will surely understand. And when understanding is reached by means of words, people will stop their search for meaning there and will not again think of the meaning outside [the words]. So the harm of this (kind of understanding) lies in that it does not make people think. *Li* and music do not speak in words so if one does not think (about them) one will not understand (them). If one does not understand (them) even though one thinks, nothing can be done about it.<sup>18</sup> Then one learns extensively other *li*. As learning is an activity which must be extensive, one must apply oneself assiduously to it employing *li* of many types in its pursuit, and thus one will naturally come to understand. If learning is already extensive then there remains nothing that one does not understand. Moreover, when one understands something by means of words, no matter how detailed the explanation of it, it remains merely one aspect. *Li* is the concrete conditions of the teaching within which dwells a plenitude of meaning; however articulate the words, they can not exhaust these meanings. The advantage of *li* then is that one can understand it in silence [without using words]. This is the reason that the teachings

of the former kings are the highest good. Well, although the teachings of *li* and music are to be known in silence, there are those whose intellects suffice and those whose intellects do not suffice. Therefore Confucius at times brings up [only] one corner and speaks of the meaning of *li*.<sup>19</sup> The meaning [spoken of here] refers to the reason why the former kings made *li* and that which is compiled in *The Li of the Elder Dai* and *The Li of the Younger Dai*<sup>20</sup> is nothing but this. However, there are those whose intellects suffice and those whose intellects do not suffice. Thus the belief of the seventy disciples in the former kings does not reach [the level of] Confucius' belief in the former kings. The belief of men in the seventy disciples does not reach [the level of] the seventy disciples' belief in Confucius. The desire to make people understand became so intense that explication of meaning knew no end and became more rife with each passing day, until by the time of the warring states period, at last meaning separated from the *li* and went on on its own, until the meaning of *li* was no longer expressed in words. One need only look at *The Mencius*. Thereafter, as antiquity faded farther and farther into the past, the (neo-Confucianist) theory of *yili* (義理) became ever more overpowering and wreaked tumultuous havoc under *Tian*. The teachings of the former kings and Confucius dissipated as if washed away. How very sad!

如漢儒以仁義禮智爲性。乃本於孟子仁義禮智根於性。然孟子豈以此爲性乎。仁智德也。禮義道也。先王率人性以立道德。故孟子謂根於性耳。祇其好辯。与外人爭。口不擇言。取諸臆以言之。致其旨遂晦也。

The fact that the Confucianists of the Han Dynasty<sup>21</sup> maintained

that *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* were in the *xing* is based on Mencius' statement that *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* are rooted in the *xing*.<sup>22</sup> However, how could Mencius have made these things the *xing*! *Ren* and *zhi* are *de*; *li* and *yi* are *dao*. The former kings established *dao* and *de* in accordance with man's *xing*, that alone is the reason why Mencius said "rooted in *xing*." He had an excessive love of argument and in contending with other schools failed to choose his words [carefully], thus he made statements based on his subjective speculations and in the end his original intent was obscured.

至於程子解禮樂。專以序和爲言。是其意以禮樂爲粗迹。以其理爲精微。故以序和言之。豈不老莊之遺乎。假使其言之是乎。先王之不以序和爲教。而故作禮樂。是其智不及程子。不爾。亦喜故難人也。且序豈足盡禮而和盡樂乎。可謂鹵莽已。

On reaching the age of Cheng Yichuan, *li* and music were interpreted by and large by the words *xu* (order) and *he* (harmony).<sup>23</sup> What he meant by this was that *li* and music are a crude configuration but their *li* (理) is subtle. Thus he referred to them with the words order and harmony. Is this not the legacy of *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*! If what he said is true, then, when the former kings intentionally made *li* and music rather than teaching by means of order and harmony, their *zhi* (智) did not reach that of Cheng Yichuan, and if that is not the case, then they must deliberately have taken delight in making difficulties for the people. Moreover, how can order exhaust the whole of *li*, and how can harmony exhaust the whole of music! This can only be said to be coarse and slovenly.

朱子釋禮曰。天理之節文。人事之儀則。是其意亦非不識禮爲先王之禮。然既以爲性。則難乎其言。故以天理弥縫之。而謂禮雖在彼乎。其理具于我。則禮庶乎可以爲性云爾。亦佛氏事理無礙之說耳。此皆不善讀孟子之失也。試觀孟子。既曰恭敬之心。禮也。而又曰辭讓之心。禮之端也。則知其心急於爭內外。不復擇言。任口言之。故或以恭敬。或以辭讓。初無定說焉。夫恭敬辭讓之不足以盡禮。雖孟子豈不知之乎。祇以行禮之心言之。而不及禮之義。則亦謂先王率人性以立道而不直以爲性者。豈不章章乎哉。

Zhu Xi, in interpreting *li*, said, “[*Li* is] enhancing in moderation the *li* (理) of *Tian*; [it is] the norm which regulates human affairs.”<sup>24</sup> This shows that he was not ignorant of the fact that the *li* was that of the former kings. However, since from the outset he made them part of *xing*, his words came to imply insuperable difficulties. So he used the *li* (理) of *Tian* to remedy the damage. Thus, in his opinion, although *li* enjoys a concrete existence, *li* (理) is innate within us, so it is permissible to say that *li* is thereby nothing more than *xing*. Again, this is nothing other than the Buddhists’ theory of no obstacles separating things from *li* (理).<sup>25</sup> This mistake arises entirely from not reading Mencius carefully. Take a glance at *The Mencius*. It says, “The *xin* of gong and *jing* is *li*”<sup>26</sup> and “The *xin* of courtesy and *rang* are the origin of *li*.”<sup>27</sup> Thus, we know that he was so intensely preoccupied with the problem of whether *li* is internal or external, and again without choosing his words carefully, he made these statements letting [unconsidered] words slip from his mouth, so that sometimes *li* is based on *gong* and *jing* and sometimes on courtesy and *rang*, resulting in there being no consistent theory from the outset. How could one conceive of a man of Mencius’ stature not

realizing that *li* can not be exhausted by *gong*, *jing*, courtesy and *rang*! Since he was simply speaking of the *xin* required for practicing *li* and did not reach the point of speaking of the meaning of *li* itself, is it not abundantly clear that he was saying that the former kings established *dao* in accordance with man's *xing* and not directly that it is one with man's *xing*?

如仁齋先生以仁義禮智爲德。亦爭性與德之名耳。其實亦不出宋儒之見也。故其釋禮曰。尊卑上下。等威文明。不少踰越。其舍先王之禮而爲是言。豈勝宋儒而上之乎。且其言但以在外者言之。而不與孟子恭敬辭讓之心相應。亦自與其以爲德者相齟。何況足以盡先王之禮乎。

As with Master Jinsai's position that *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* are *de*,<sup>28</sup> this is nothing more than replacing one term for another, *de* for *xing*. He has in fact not left the pale of Song Confucianism. Thus, he interprets *li*, saying, "The high-born and the low-born, those of high rank and those of low rank, the distinctions between them are clear<sup>29</sup> and no one transgresses them."<sup>30</sup> How can one who says these words, setting aside the *li* of the former kings, outstrip the Song Confucians! Moreover, these words merely speak of *li* in terms of the external, so it does not correspond to the *xin* of *gong* and *jing*, courtesy and *rang* of Mencius. And he also runs counter to what he himself calls *de* [because *de* is by definition internal]. Even more so, how could these words ever be sufficient to exhaust the *li* of the former kings!

嗚呼先王之思深遠也。在先載之上。而既知言語之教不足以盡乎道。是故制作禮樂以教人。而後之學者猶且舍其教。唯言語是務。夫舍其禮而不使學。而欲以己之言盡夫先王之禮。多見不知量已。辟諸舍彼規矩準繩



而不用。曰汝苟用吾言。則雖舍規矩準繩。亦足以爲方圓曲直焉。豈不妄哉。

How profound and far-reaching the insight of the former kings! Already thousands of years ago they knew that teaching by means of words was insufficient to exhaust *dao*. Thus they taught the people by making *li* and music. However, even so, later scholars set aside these teachings and applied themselves to words alone. Well, by setting aside *li* and not having the people learn it, they wished to exhaust the *li* of the former kings with their own words. This is a perfect example of “not knowing one’s own measure.”<sup>31</sup> This can be likened to setting aside and not using the compass, square, water-level, and carpenter’s line, and saying, “If you heed my words, even if you set aside the compass, square, water-level, and carpenter’s line, they will be sufficient for drawing rectangles, circles, curves, and straight lines.”<sup>32</sup> How could this be anything but nonsense!

2. 書曰。天秩有禮。是堯舜之制禮。奉天道以行之。所以神其教也。如三代天子。出一政。興一事。亦皆祀祖宗配之天。而以天与祖宗之命出之。以卜筮行之。古之道爲爾。後儒不識其意。而以爲天者自然也。謂自然有是禮也。是其天理節文之所本自。殊不知以天爲自然者。老莊之意。而古所無焉。若果使禮自然有之。則如三代殊其禮。其謂之何。故其究。不得不以天理爲精微。以禮爲粗迹。苟得其精微。則若其粗迹。左之亦可。右之亦可也。然則如曰先王制禮。而弗敢過也。先王制禮。不敢不至焉。亦何守其粗迹若是其嚴也。故其究。亦不得不外三代之禮而別立一定不易之禮矣。故程子曰。成王之賜。伯禽之受。皆非也。夫周禮者。周公所立。成王伯禽親受之周公。而既爲非禮。則程子所謂禮豈非外周禮而別有之乎。嗚呼外先王之禮而別立己所謂禮。其僭妄亂道之極。可以見已。

Rule 2. *The Book of History* says, “Tian established order and thus there is *li*.”<sup>33</sup> Thus when Yao and Shun made *li* they did so by serving the *dao* of *Tian* and this is the reason that their teachings are considered to be divine. Men like the emperors of the three dynasties, whenever they made a political decision or undertook some enterprise, worshipped the spirits of their ancestors<sup>34</sup> whom they enshrined in *Tian*. Thus they made decisions at the behest of *Tian* and their ancestors<sup>35</sup> and undertook enterprises guided by divination.<sup>36</sup> This is how the *dao* of antiquity was. Later Confucianists did not understand this, said that what is called *Tian* is nature<sup>37</sup> and that *li* exists in nature. This is the basis for [Zhu Xi’s theory of] *li* being the enhancement in moderation of *Tian*’s *li* (理). They do not even know that the idea that *Tian* is nature is derived from Laozi and Zhuangzi and is not found in antiquity. If *li* does indeed exist in nature, then how can they possibly explain how the *li* of the three dynasties differ one from another?<sup>38</sup> Thus, as a result, they can not but consider *Tian*’s *li* (理) to be subtle and refined and *li* to be coarse manifestations of it. As long as one attains the subtle and refined, what matters whether its coarse manifestations are on the left or on the right? If so, then why, in passages like “the former kings made the *li* and never dared to indulge in excess” and “the former kings made *li* and never dared to fall short of it”<sup>39</sup> did [the ancients] make such a point of observing these coarse manifestations? Thus as a result they had to dispense with the *li* of the three dynasties and establish immutable and universal *li*.<sup>40</sup> Thus Cheng Yichuan said, “King Cheng in bestowing the privilege and Bo Qin in accepting it were both mistaken.”<sup>41</sup> Well, the *li* of Zhou was established by the

Duke of Zhou and both King Cheng and Bo Qin received it directly from the Duke of Zhou. If, however, this *li* is considered to be mistaken, then how can what Cheng Yichuan calls *li* not differ from the *li* of Zhou? Aa, he has set aside the *li* of Zhou and established his own so-called *li*. It is clear that his presumptuous delusion subverts the *dao* to the utmost.

3. 周禮以禮教中。是或釋者之言。誤入經文者已。然亦古之言也。蓋先王立禮。以爲民極。極中也。使賢者俯而就之。不肖者企而及之。故謂之中焉。非使人求無過不及之理以爲禮也。書曰。民心罔中。惟爾之中。是所謂中者。聖人所獨知。而非衆人所及。故立禮以爲民極也。後世義理之學盛。而儒者唯義理是視。不知就禮以求其中。徒取中其臆。而謂是可以合禮焉。如周子以中正易禮智。是也。人間北看成南。東家之西。西家爲東。恣以其意言之。而中於是乎移。極於是乎壞。豈不悲乎。且聖人之立禮也。慮世之日趨文也。故其以爲中者。豈必無過不及之謂乎。學者思諸。

Rule 4. *The Li of Zhou* says, “*Zhong* (the mean) is taught by means of *li*.” These are perhaps the words of a commentator which found their way into the text of this classic by mistake.<sup>42</sup> However, they are words of antiquity. I believe that the former kings established *li* and thereby made it the axis [of behaviour] for the people.<sup>43</sup> The axis is *zhong*. Worthies followed it by bowing down and fools reached it by standing on tiptoe.<sup>44</sup> Thus this is called *zhong*. It was not that people were made to seek *li* (理) which is neither excessive nor deficient,<sup>45</sup> for this is not *li*. *The Book of History* says, “*Zhong* is not in the *xin* of the people; *zhong* is only in you [the ruler].”<sup>46</sup> This says that only the sage knows *zhong* and it is not within the purview of the people. Thus they established *li* and thereby made it

the axis of the people [’s behaviour]. In later ages the (Song) learning of *yili* (義理) flourished and Confucianists valued only *yi* and *li* (理), not knowing that in *li*, *zhong* is to be sought. They took *zhong* in their own subjective ways and said that it conformed to *li*. [Zhu Xi’s] replacement of ‘*zhong*’ with *li* and *zheng* with *zhi* in Zhou Dunyi’s statement is an example of this.<sup>47</sup> In this world if you are looking from the north everything is to the south<sup>48</sup> and that which is west of the eastern house is east of the western house. As they make their interpretations in what ever way they see fit, *zhong* moves [away from its proper place] and the axis is destroyed. How can one help but be saddened! Moreover, when the sages established *li*, they took into consideration the tendency of the times to enhance it. Thus how can that which they considered to be *zhong* necessarily refer to that which is neither excessive nor deficient! Scholars, ponder this!

<sup>1</sup> CLJ 5. SKT 27.208. 「樂正崇四術、立四教、順先王詩書禮樂以造士」 The head of the academy prizes the four competences, establishes the four teachings, and forms officials by following the odes, history, *li*, and music of the former kings.

<sup>2</sup> ZL 10. In 本田二郎著 (Honda) 『周禮通解』 全2卷 (秀英出版, 1977-1979), I, p.303. 「三曰、六藝、禮樂射御書數」 The third is called the six attainments, *li*, music, archery, charioteering, writing, and arithmetic.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. CLJ 10. SKT 27.366. 「經禮三百、曲禮三千」 There are three hundred warps and three thousand woofs in *li*. BZY 5.1. Also, SKT 2.297. 「礼儀三百、威儀三千」 Three hundred 礼儀 (normative law binding man to man); three thousand 威儀 (behavioral rules). Also, DDL.80. SKT 113.514. 「禮經三百、威儀三千」 There are three hundred warps and three thousand 威儀 (behavioral rules).

<sup>4</sup> NST 36.565. These are not ministers proper of the Son of *Tian* but men of common origin appointed by the former to low-level civil service positions. Cf. ZL 1. Honda, I, p.24. 「府六人、史十有二人、胥十有二人、徒百有二十人」 Custodians of written records and (ceremonial) vessels number six, scribes twelve, foremen twelve, and manual laborers one hundred twenty.

<sup>5</sup> CLJ 3. SKT 27.87-88. 「魯莊公及宋人戰于乘丘、縣賁父御、卜國爲右」 Duke Zhuang of Lu fought the people of Song at Chengqiu, Xuan Benfu was his charioteer, Bu Guo the warrior (wielding weapons) on the right side (of his chariot). NST 36.565-567. Both Xuan Benfu and Bu Guo were officials proper (士).

<sup>6</sup> NST 36.566. Outside of *li* itself, all of the other (six) attainments are engaged in by men who are not *junzi*. (high village officials and rulers, society's leaders). And alone of the six, archery is engaged in by those who hold even the high rank of vassal lord. But this archery is of a special type which includes *li* and music. Cf. CLJ 46. SKT 29.933. 「射者男子之事也、因而飾之以禮樂也」 Archery is (an important) occupation for men. Thus it is adorned by means of *li* and music.

<sup>7</sup> BLY 3.16. SKT 1.75-76. 「射不主皮、爲力不同科、古之道也」 Archery is not primarily a matter of piercing leather targets, as not everyone has the same strength. This is the ancient *dao*. Also, ZL.12. Honda, I, p.334-35. 「…郷射之禮、五物…」 . . . in the town the *li* of archery is to be judged on the basis of these five factors . . . NST 36.566. Cf. 平石直昭編集・解説(Hiraishi) 『徂徠集』 in 『近世儒家文集集成・第3巻』ペリカン社, 1987, 書部巻27, p.295. 「主皮、非貫革也」 “The primary purpose of performing archery on a leather target is not to practice piercing leather armor.”

<sup>8</sup> Cf. n.6.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. SJ shijia.17.4.SKT 87.801-803.Also SJ shijia.17.6.SKT 87.804-805.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. CLJ 9.SKT 27.335.Also,CCQZZ 11.10.SKT 33.1703.「犁弥言於齊侯曰、孔丘知禮而無勇」Li Mi said to the Duke of Qi, “Confucius may know *li* but he is a coward.”

<sup>11</sup> (Ikeda) 池田末利著『儀禮第4巻・喪服篇』(東海大学出版会, 1975).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. CLJ 7.SKT 27.276ff, where Confucius and Cengzi discuss *li*.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. CLJ 4.SKT 27.151-53, where Zi You and You Ruo discuss *li*.

<sup>14</sup> BLY 2.3.SKT 1.39-40.「子曰、道之以政、齊之以刑、民免而無恥、道之以德、齊之以礼、有恥且格」Confucius said, “Led by means of government and steered by means of punishments, the common people will avoid being apprehended but have no sense of shame. Guided by *de*, steered by *li*, they will not only have a sense of shame but also correct themselves.” Also, CLJ 19.SKT 28.562-63.「禮樂刑政、四達而不悖、則王道備矣」If *li*, music, punishment, and government are all carried out without error, then the kingly *dao* will be accomplished.

<sup>15</sup> CLJ 19.SKT 28.570.「及夫禮樂之極乎天而蟠乎地、行乎陰陽而通乎鬼神、窮高極遠而測深厚」If one considers that *li* and music at the height of their potency encompass *Tian* and below all the way down to earth, reaching *yin* and *yang* and pervading the spirit world, then they reach the loftiest heights, explore the remotest areas, and gauge the depths and horizons.

<sup>16</sup> BLY 7.2.SKT 1.152-53.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Ren #1. NST 26.53-57. Also COSJ 241. Cf. Kanô 加納善光訳『中国の古典19』『詩経(下)』(学習研究社, 1983), p.351.

<sup>18</sup> BLY 9.23. SKT 1.212. 「吾未如之何也已矣」 I still have no idea as to how to instruct them. Also, BLY15.15. SKT 1.347.

<sup>19</sup> BLY 7.8. SKT 1.156-57.

<sup>20</sup> *The Li of the Elder Dai* 『大戴禮』, an edition in 85 chapters edited by Dai De 戴德 of the Former Han dynasty. *The Li of the Younger Dai* 『小戴禮』 in 49 chapters selected by Dai Sheng 戴聖 (Dai De's younger brother) and later edited by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 of the Latter Han is *The Book of Li* 『禮記』.

<sup>21</sup> COSJ 260. (Kanô) 加納善光訳『中国の古典19』『詩経(下)』(学習研究社, 1983), p.466. 「烝民・天生烝民/有物有則…」 *Tian* gave birth to all people, and there were (visible) things and (invisible) rules . . . On which Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 comments, 「天之生衆民、其性有物象、謂五行仁義禮智信也」 When *Tian* generated men their *xing* came in concrete forms. The so-called five natural elements were *ren*, *yi*, *li*, *zhi*, and *xin*. Also, BZY 1.1. SKT 2.199. 「天命之謂性」 *Tianming* is what is called *xing*. On which Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 comments, 「天命、謂天所命生人者也、是謂性命、木神則仁、金神則義、火神則禮、水神則信、土神則知」 *Tianming* refers to what is engendered in man by the command of *Tian*. This is what is called *xingming*. The wood element is *ren*, the iron element is *yi*, the fire element is *li*, the water element is *xin*, the earth element is *zhi*.

<sup>22</sup> BMZ 7A.21. SKT 4.457. 「仁義禮智、根於心」 Sorai misquotes Mencius substituting 性 for 心. NST 36.71.

<sup>23</sup> BLY 17.11. SKT 1.387. 「子曰、禮云、禮云」 Confucius said, “*Li*, *li*. (People are always talking about it.)” ST 7.310 and 435. Zhu Xi comments, 「程子曰、禮只是一箇序、樂只是一箇和、只此兩字、含蓄多少

義理、天下無一物無禮樂、且如置此兩椅、一不正、便是無序、無序便乖、乖便不和」 According to Chengzi, *li* is nothing more than a kind of order, and 樂 nothing more than a kind of harmony. These two terms, however, imply somewhat more. Nothing under *Tian* cannot support itself without both *li* and music. It is like a matched pair of chairs. Should either one of them be amiss, then order would be lost. Without order things would fall apart. When things fall apart there can be no harmony.

<sup>24</sup> BLY 1.12.SKT 1.30-31.Cf.ST 7.44 and 397.for Zhu Xi's commentary, 「礼之用和為貴」 In the performance of *li*, harmony is highly prized. Also, BMZ 4A.27.SKT 4.274.for Mencius' use of the term *jiewen* 節文.

<sup>25</sup> NS 12.175.One of the three approaches toward the dharma (in this case 'reality' or 'phenomena') distinguished by the Avatamska sect of Buddhism (華嚴宗). The first one is the state of being entirely captivated by phenomena, and the third and ultimate ideal is the state of being thoroughly immersed in the world of phenomena without, however, being captivated by it. The second, the state in which the underlying law and phenomena are one and mutual, was favored by the Song dynasty Neo-Confucians. Cheng Yichuan's 程伊川 *Yijing* Commentary 『易伝』 is a good example of this view.

<sup>26</sup> BMZ 6A.6.SKT 4.387.

<sup>27</sup> BMZ 2A.6.SKT 4.111.

<sup>28</sup> NST 33.35 and 127.Jinsai, *Gomō Jigi*, *De* 1.「徳者、仁義禮智之総名」 *De* is the generic name for ren, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi*.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. CCQZZ 7.12.SKT 31.615.「等威文明」

<sup>30</sup> NST 33.38 and 128.*Gomō Jigi*, *Ren*, *yi*, *li*, *zhi* 1.Also,NST 33.74 and 147.Xue 2.「尊卑貴賤、品節有等之謂禮」 To distinguish (有



等) the ranks (品) and classes (節) between high (尊) and low (卑), between noble (貴) and humble (賤)—this is called *li*.

<sup>31</sup> BLY 19.24.SKT 1.429-30.

<sup>32</sup> BMZ 4A.1.SKT 4.237. Here Sorai borrows (and alters) the words of Mencius to criticize those who value words over the “tools” of the former kings.

<sup>33</sup> CHSJ 2.1.4.SKT 25.53ff.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. NST 36.66.OSBM sheng #3. Also, XJ 10.SKT 35.237. 「昔者周公郊祀后稷以配天、宗祀文王於明堂、以配上帝」 In the old days the Duke of Zhou worshipped (enshrined) Hou-ji 后稷, (the legendary founder of the Zhou dynasty) in the same manner that Tian and earth were worshipped. He worshipped King Wen in the ancestral mausoleum and offered the same reverence to him as he did *Shangdi*.

<sup>35</sup> CHSJ 14.2.SKT 25.190. 「天乃大命文王、殪戎殷、誕受厥命」 *Tian* mightily exhorted King Wen to overthrow the Yin dynasty and accept the mandate. Also, CLJ 5.SKT 27.195. 「天子將出征、類乎上帝、宜乎社、造乎禰、禘於所征之地、受命於祖、受成於學」 The Son of *Tian*, when about to go off to war, carries out the *li* of *lei* to *Shangdi*, the *li* of *yi* to the local deities, and the *li* of *zao* at his ancestral tombs, and at the field of battle, he carries out the *li* of *ma*. He also receives the counsel of his ancestors (by means of divination) and frames his battle plans at the academy.

<sup>36</sup> CHSJ 11.8.SKT 25.161.NST 36.566. This passage relates how the king, when unable to make a decision on the basis of purely rational calculation, would consult first his own *xin*, then the lords and officials, then the people, and finally the augurs. He would then make his decision based on a comprehensive review of all their advice. Also, CLJ 1.SKT 27.49. 「卜筮者、先聖王之、所以使民信時

日、敬鬼神、畏法令也、所以使民決嫌疑、定猶與也、故曰疑而筮之、則弗非也、日而行事、則必踐之」 Divination by tortoise shell and by rods was practised by the former sage kings in order to have the people believe the fortune told of an occasion (for the reason that it was not arbitrary human decision but one decreed by divinity), revere the gods and respect the laws and regulations. It was practised in order to help the people choose between truth and falsehood and settle problems. Thus it is said that what was doubtful and has been submitted to divination cannot admit objection. What has been scheduled for the occasion (by consulting) must necessarily be carried out.

<sup>37</sup> BMZ 1B.3.SKT 4.50. 「以大事小者、樂天者也」 A large state which serves a small state (in full accordance with *li* truly) cherishes *Tian*. On which Zhu Xi comments, ST 8.102 and 472. 「天者、理而已矣」 *Tian* is nothing other than *li* (理). Also, BMZ 4A.7. SKT 4.248. 「順天者存、逆天者滅」 Those who conform to *Tian* persist ; those who resist *Tian* perish. On which Zhu Xi comments, ST 8.236 and 503. 「天者理勢之当然也」 *Tian* is the natural drift (trend, tendency) of *li* (理). Cf. ST 7.44 and 397, where Zhu Xi observes 「蓋禮之爲體雖嚴、然皆出於自然之理」 I believe that although the corpus of *li* appears formidable, nevertheless it all is derived from the *li* (理) of nature. Also, BLY 1.12.SKT 1.30-31. 「禮之用和爲貴」 In the performance of *li*, *he* (harmony) is highly prized. On which Zhu Xi comments, ST 7.45 and 397. 「愚謂嚴而泰、和而節、此理之自然、禮之全體也」 Formidable and comfortable, harmonious and well-articulated, that I think is the nature of *li* (理), the whole of *li*. Also, LZ 25.SKT 7.52-53. 「人法地、地法天、天法道、道法自然」 Men act in accordance with earth ; earth in accordance with *Tian* ; *Tian* in accordance with *dao* ; and

*dao* in accordance with nature. Also, ZZ 6. SKT 7.245. 「知天之所爲者、天而生也」 To know the workings of *Tian*, one must live as *Tian* (works). On which Guo Xiang 郭象 comments 「天者、自然之謂也」 *Tian* refers to nature (What we mean by *Tian* is nature).

<sup>38</sup> CLJ 19. SKT 28.567. 「三王異世、不相襲禮」 The kings of the three dynasties (the Xia, the Yin, and the Zhou), in accordance with the changes in the times, did not necessarily follow the *li* of their predecessors.

<sup>39</sup> CLJ 3. SKT 27.107-108. 「子夏既除喪而見、予之琴、和之而不和、彈之而不成聲、作而曰、哀未忘也、先王制禮、而弗敢過也、子張既除喪而見、予之琴、和之而和、彈之而成聲、作而曰、先王制禮、不敢不至焉」 Out of mourning for his parent Zi Xia went to see Confucius. Confucius handed him a harp. The disciple tried to tune it but he was unable to do so. He tried to play the instrument, but he was just not able to make music. He rose and said: I still cannot shake off sorrow. But knowing that there is the *li* established by the former kings, I dare not overindulge (in my sorrow). Out of mourning for his parent Zi Zhang went to see Confucius. The master handed him a harp. When the disciple tuned it, the instrument was beautifully in tune. When he played the instrument, he made beautiful music. He rose and said: knowing that there is the *li* established by the former kings, I dare not fall short of it (*li* as it is formulated in music).

<sup>40</sup> BLY 15.10. SKT 1.344. In which Yan Yuan asks Confucius how to govern a state and the latter insists on the necessity of observing ancient practices, the calendar of Xia, the chariots of Yin, and the caps of Zhou, etc. On which Zhu Xi comments, ST 7.283-84 and 431. 「程子曰、…蓋三代之制、皆因時損益、及其久也、不能無弊、周衰、聖人不作、故孔子斟酌先王之禮、立万世常行之道」 Chengzi said: What was

established during the three dynasties all grew to be more or less than what it originally aimed to be, owing to the passage of time. This state of things continued for a long time and there were inevitable abuses. The Zhou dynasty declined but no sages arose (to amend the situation). Therefore Confucius examined the *li* of the former kings and established the *dao* to be constantly trafficked for ten thousand generations.

<sup>41</sup> SKT 36.566. Out of gratitude for the deceased Duke of Zhou's political accomplishments, King Cheng of Zhou allowed Lu (which was ruled by the duke's son, Bo Qin) to employ certain *li* and music reserved for the Son of *Tian*. Cf. SJ shijia.3.13. SKT 85.126-28. 「魯有天子禮樂者、以褒周公之德也」 If Lu has the *li* and music exclusively reserved for the Son of *Tian*, it is for the purpose of praising the Duke of Zhou's *de*. Later, Confucius severely criticized the three senior statesmen of Lu during his own time for having had the audacity to employ *li* and music reserved for the Son of *Tian* in their private homes. Cf. BLY 3.1-2. SKT 1.61-63. 「孔子謂季氏、八佾舞於庭、是可忍也、孰不可忍也」 Commenting on the Ji clan having the dance of Bayi performed in his own front garden, Confucius said: If it were to be tolerated, what would there be not to be tolerated?, and 「三家者、以雍徹、子曰、相維辟公、天子穆穆、奚取於三家之堂」 The three senior statesmen of Lu had the song of 雍 (Yong, a song in the *Odes*) sung when offerings are removed (in their ancestral worshipping ceremonies). Confucius criticized this and said: (as the song says) it is for the vassals to assist (in the performance of the king's ancestral ceremonies), and it is for the Son of *Tian* to majestically reside. How can the three senior statesmen be allowed to have the song sung in their own ceremonial halls? In commenting on this Chengzi

maintained that the source of this *lèse majesté* could be traced back to the effrontery of King Cheng of Zhou. Cf. BLY 3.2.SKT 1.62 as above. On which Zhu Xi quotes Chengzi. ST 7.64 and 400. 「程子曰、周公之功固大矣、皆臣子之分所當爲、魯安得獨用天子禮樂哉、成王之賜、伯禽之受、皆非也、其因襲之弊、遂使季氏僭八佾、三家僭雍徹、故仲尼譏之」 Chengzi says: The Duke of Zhou's accomplishments were of course great, but all he did was what was required of a man in his position. How can Lu alone be allowed to employ the Son of Tian's *li* and music? King Cheng in bestowing it and Bo Qin in accepting it, were both mistaken. The evil of this tradition finally resulted in the Ji clan usurping the right to perform the dance of Bayi, and the three senior statesmen usurping the right to sing the Yong song. That is why Confucius attacked it. Cf. OSRC on the same passage in BLY. OSZA 3.100-101 and 447. 「大氏後儒謂禮万世不易者、是其心有自以爲禮者、故妄意成王伯禽皆非矣、夫禮爲一代之典、周禮周公作、而成王伯禽親受之、故成王伯禽非禮歟、則孰爲禮、豈不肆乎、故孔子所謂非禮者、謂其後也」 When the later Confucianists say that *li* does not change for ten thousand generations, what they mean by *li* is often arbitrarily defined in their own minds. That is why they indiscriminately hold that King Cheng and Bo Qi were both mistaken. *Li* is the code of one dynasty. Zhou's *li* was created by Duke of Zhou, and King Cheng and Bo Qi directly inherited it. Were King Cheng and Bo Qi violating *li* then? Which would have been an act of *li*? Isn't it rather arbitrarily decided? What Confucius called 'not *li*' refers therefore to what happened after them (King Cheng and Bo Qi).

<sup>42</sup> NST 36.566. Cf. ZL 10. 「以鄉八刑糾万民、一曰不孝之刑、二曰不睦之刑、三曰不嫺之刑、四曰不弟之刑、五曰不任之刑、六曰不恤之刑、七曰造言之刑、八曰亂民之刑、以五禮防万民之僞而教之中、以六樂防万

民之情而教之和」 Honda, I, p.304-306. A town (a unit consisting of 12500 households) has eight punishments for correcting people in the community: 1. punishment for being unfilial. 2. punishment for not being neighborly or friendly. 3. punishment for not being good to in-laws. 4. punishment for not being obedient to seniors. 5. punishment for not performing a given office. 6. punishment for not being compassionate. 7. punishment for spreading rumors. 8. punishment for disorganizing the community. By means of the five types of *li* people are to be prevented from falling into error and lessoned in *zhong*. By means of six types of music people are to be fortified in humanity and lessoned in *he* (harmony). Sorai maintains that a later commentator added the underlined portion of this passage, quoting from another ancient text, in the belief that the use of the five *li* 五禮 and six musics 六樂 would render the employment of punishment for the eight crimes 八刑 unnecessary. He further maintains that over the years this underlined portion was mistakenly subsumed into the original text. Thus he does not quote the text but paraphrases the bold portion, which he considers essential, 「以禮教中」.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. OSBD 6. NST 36.16-17.

<sup>44</sup> CLJ 3. SKT 27.95. 「子思曰、先王之制禮也、過之者俯而就之、不至焉者跂而及之」 Zi Si said: When the former kings established *li*, those who were too tall were made to lower themselves, and those who were too short were made to stand on tiptoe.

<sup>45</sup> BZY 2.1. SKT 2.206. 「仲尼曰、君子中庸、小人反中庸、君子之中庸也、君子而時中、小人之中庸也、小人而無忌憚也」 Confucius said: the *junzi* stays in the mean. The small person deviates from the mean. The *junzi*'s mean is such that he acts as he wills and still he is always *zhong* (toeing the mark). The small man's so-called mean

is such that if he acts as he wills he either overshoots or cuts the mark. On which Zhu Xi comments, ST 8.18 and 451: 「中庸者、不偏不倚、無過不及、而平常之理」 *Zhong* means non-biased and independent, neither more nor less; *yong* (庸) means normal.

<sup>46</sup> CHSJ 52. SKT 26.521.

<sup>47</sup> Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤, *Tong-shu*, Dao 6 通書・道 6 「聖人之道、仁義中正而已矣」 The *dao* of the sages lies in *ren*, *zhong*, *yi*, and *zheng*. On which Zhu Xi comments: 「中即禮、正即智」 *Zhong* is *li*, *zheng* is *zhi*. Also, Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤, *The Explanatory Diagrams of the Taiji* 『極圖說』 「聖人定之以中正仁義」 The sages established it by means of *zhong*, *zheng*, *ren* and *yi*. On which Zhu Xi comments, 「問、周子不言禮智、而言中正、如何、曰、禮智說得猶寬、中正則切而實矣、且謂之禮、尙或有不中節處、若謂之中、則無過不及、無非禮之禮、乃節文恰好處也、謂之智、尙或有正不正、若謂之正、則是非端的分明、乃智之實也」 A disciple's question: Why does Zhou Dunyi speak only of *zhong* and *zheng*, and not of *li* and *zhi*? Zhu Xi's answer: The expounding of *li* and *zhi* still allows some latitude. *Zhong* and *zheng* are the pith and marrow. Discussions of *li* can still at places be beside the mark. Discussions of *zhong* can neither be in excess or wanting; there can be no mere appearance of *li* which is in reality violating *li*. The topic and the language fit perfectly. Discussions of *zhi* are sometimes correct but incorrect at other times. In the discussions of *zheng* right and wrong are at once clear, since it is the bone marrow of *zhi*.

<sup>48</sup> Huang Shangu 黃山谷『次韻王荊公題西太一宮壁詩』 「真是真非安在、人間北看成南」 Absolute truth, absolute falsity, where can they possibly be? . . . Cf. OSBD 19. NST 36.28 and 205.