Janine Anderson SAWADA, *Confucian Values and Popular Zen: Sekimon Shingaku in Eighteenth-Century Japan.* Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1993. xi + 256 pp., glossary, bibliography, and index. Hardcover, US$30.00. ISBN 0–8248–1414–2.

In his *Tokugawa Religion: The Values of Pre-Industrial Japan* (1957), Robert Bellah argued that the tendency of Japanese religions during the Tokugawa period to privilege the values of diligence and frugality contributed to the economic rationalism so favorable to Japan's modernization. His thesis was self-consciously consonant with Max Weber's argument in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* that an "inner-worldly asceticism" in Protestantism contributed in fundamental ways to the modern economic development of Europe. Though Bellah surveyed much of the religious landscape of early- and mid-Tokugawa Japan, he devoted his greatest attention to Ishida Baigan (1685–1744), founder of the movement later known as Shingaku. Bellah's analysis represented the first attempt in English to describe the spiritual vitality of the *chōnin* 町人 in general and urban merchants in particular, with specific attention to those values that provided meaning to the quotidian; but his emphasis on Baigan obscured the fact that Shingaku's "golden age" came well after Baigan's death, when his teachings had been significantly re-fashioned by his disciple Teshima Toan (1718–1786). The result has been considerable misunderstanding regarding Shingaku by those scholars who have relied primarily on *Tokugawa Religion* for their understanding of the subject.

Sawada's book provides an engagingly understated amplification of and corrective to Bellah's analysis, focusing as it does on Teshima Toan and providing a number of interpretive contexts for situating him and his thought. Her principal concern is to shed new light on "the mystical core that gave 'dynamism' to [Shingaku's] moral teaching" (p. 8), and by doing so she contributes significantly to our knowledge of precisely those areas that were central to Bellah: the values of pre-industrial Japan, and their social and intellectual contexts. Sawada's *Confucian Values* merits inclusion among the best recent English-language analyses of urban merchant culture in Japan.

As is well known in Japan but perhaps less so in Anglo-European circles, Shingaku was just one of several movements in the Tokugawa period that sought to plumb the mysteries of the mind/heart (*shin/kokoro* 心), and Sawada does an excellent job of identifying the relevant antecedents for Ishida Baigan's and Teshima Toan's teachings. These can be found principally in the Neo-Confucian tradition with its concern for preserving one's original nature (*honzen no sei* 本然之性), and its attendant tradition of retrieving one's innate knowledge of goodness (*ryōchi* 良知). One also discerns the legacy of Zen, since Shingaku instructed its followers in various techniques to provoke the enlightenment experience of "discovering the original mind" (*honshin hatsumei* 本心発明), including group study and the contemplative exercise of quiet sitting (*seiza no kufū* 静坐工夫). Sawada's examination of these seemingly arcane concepts provides her with justification for the somewhat infelicitous title of her book.

442		*Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 21/4

Perhaps the most remarkable chapter is "Shingaku for Children," in which Sawada describes the free sessions Shingaku provided three times a month to boys and girls over the age of seven. Akin to what is nowadays known as "day care," though with a decidedly didactic component, the sessions were structured around printed lesson plans that were concerned largely with "practical etiquette and ethics" (p. 110). These lesson plans thus provide valuable source material concerning both the literacy and the ideals of commoners, and would be of enormous interest for social historians. Sawada observes that although Teshima Toan's lessons for female students were hardly original in their content—emphasizing such virtues as submissiveness, chastity, frugality, modesty, and so on—they were nonetheless "one of the earliest systematic efforts to teach groups of girls and women on a national scale" (p. 115).

In summary, Janine Sawada has produced a well-researched, well-written, and insightful study of eighteenth-century Shingaku centering on its principal figure, Teshima Toan. Especially to be commended is the understated manner in which Sawada engages the social context of eighteenth-century Shingaku. The result is a level of analysis substantially more sophisticated than that found in any number of works purporting to privilege the social background of their subjects. Her study significantly advances our understanding of Shingaku and contributes to an enriched understanding of the social context of eighteenth-century *chōnin* thought and values.

Peter Nosco
University of Southern California