

WAI-MING NG*
(National University of Singapore)

THE HISTORY OF *I CHING* IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN

The *I Ching* (Book of Changes) has been a book of particular significance and interest in East Asian history. The text, one of the most influential and popular Chinese classics, is both a book of wisdom and a book of magic. It is no exaggeration to say that the philosophy and divination of the *I Ching* became an integral part of Chinese civilization. The two traditions of Chinese learning, Confucianism and *yin-yang* thought, were tremendously influenced by it; they all claimed the text as their own. Traditional Japan was within the orbit of the Chinese cultural sphere, and thus was indebted to the *I Ching* for the development of aspects of its history. It penetrated into different areas of Japanese life, including politics, the economy, religion, science, the military, arts, and folklore. This article uses the *I Ching* to investigate the adaptation of Chinese learning in medieval Japan (1186–1603). We will highlight how the *I Ching* became a subject of particular attention among major literate groups and the characteristics of *I Ching* scholarship in medieval Japan.

Historical and Intellectual Background

The *I Ching* was brought to Japan through Korea no later than the sixth century. It was never a popular text among educated groups in ancient Japan (539–1186). Neither government nor private libraries made its commentaries an important part of their collections. There are very few historical records of studies of the *I Ching* in ancient Japan. It was an exclusive text used by a very limited number of people. In the central court government, the Bureau of Education

* The author wishes to thank Martin Collcutt, Marius Jansen, Ying-shih Yü and Keith Kunnti for their comments.

(*daigakuryō*) treated it as a Confucian text, whereas the Bureau of Divination (*onmyōryō*) interpreted it as a book of oracles. The former studied the textual interpretation of its philosophy and ethics, whereas the latter applied its symbolism and numerology to divination, astrology, medicine and court rituals.

The *I Ching* gradually became a popular text in medieval times. Among the Chinese Neo-Confucian currents flowing into Japan after the thirteenth century, the text was a subject of particular attention, and had been studied by major literate groups. There were a number of reasons why the *I Ching* became more popular in the medieval period. First, its popularity was a by-product of Neo-Confucianism. The Sung school had a preference for the *I Ching* and the Four Books. The *I Ching* provided a metaphysical framework for Sung scholars to construct their Neo-Confucian ideas. Many Sung scholars were masters of the *I Ching*, and had produced important commentaries. Famous works, including Chou Tun-i's (1017–1073) *T'ai-chi-t'u shuo* (An Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate), Ch'eng I's (1033–1107) *I Chuan* (A Commentary on the *I Ching*), Chu Hsi's (1130–1200) *Chou-i pen-i* (The Original Meaning of the *I Ching*) and *I-hsüeh ch'i-meng* (Introductions to the Young on the Learning of the *I Ching*), were imported into medieval Japan, and received with great enthusiasm. The new (or Sung) commentaries gradually replaced the old (Han and T'ang) commentaries as the main reference. Second, Zen Buddhist monks played an important role in promoting the *I Ching*. In ancient times, the *I Ching* was only studied by a few courtiers and officials of the central court government. In the medieval period, the monks within the five-mountain Zen monastic system (*gozan*) became the dominant intellectual force. A large number of Zen Buddhist monks studied the *I Ching*; they punctuated, annotated and reprinted some important Chinese commentaries. Third, its idea of change fitted the historical atmosphere of medieval Japan. Medieval Japan was a period of chaos and crises. The text equipped medieval Japanese with the wisdom to survive these dramatic changes.¹ As in China, it also pro-

1 The character, *I*, literally means “change”, and the *I Ching* elucidates the philosophy of change. According to the *I Ching*, a wise man should follow the changes of the times, not because this is a moral law that one is constrained to obey, but because by following the new developments, he will survive and flourish. See Hellmut Wilhelm, *Changes: Eight Lectures on the*

vided an ideological support for reform. No wonder many reform-minded political leaders and warriors studied it with zest. Fourth, it was quite suited to Japan's indigenous beliefs and folklore. The abstraction of the *I Ching* made its principles applicable to different areas of thought and culture. For instance, early Shintoists employed the ideas of *yin-yang* (two forces) and *wu-hsing* (five agents or phases) to conceptualize traditional myths and value systems. It also penetrated into various realms of medieval art and culture, such as *nō* drama, flower arrangement (*ikebana*), the tea ceremony (*chanoyu*), and the martial arts.

We will attempt to understand how and why the *I Ching* was studied and used in medieval Japan by surveying the period's major literate groups: Zen Buddhist monks, members of the imperial family, *hakase* families (specially designated scholarly families), courtiers, teachers and students at the Ashikaga School (*Ashikaga gakkō*), and high-ranking warriors. Different traditions of *I Ching* studies had close relations, and influenced each other.

Zen Buddhist Monks

Zen Buddhist monks were the main force behind *I Ching* studies in medieval Japan. Confucianism was included in the Mahāyāna Buddhist system under the slogan of the unity of Buddhism and Confucianism (*Jubutsu itchi*). Believing that the *I Ching* could help them attain enlightenment, Zen Buddhist monks studied it in the final stage of their training and used it widely to explain Buddhist ideas. However, it seems that some monks studied the *I Ching* and other Chinese texts primarily for cultural, rather than religious, purposes.²

I Ching (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 19. See also Richard Smith, *China's Cultural Heritage: The Ch'ing Dynasty, 1644–1912* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983), p. 248.

2 For a historical overview of the growth of Confucian studies within the Zen Buddhist framework, see chapter 3, "Zen and the Study of Confucianism", in Daisetsu Suzuki, *Zen and Japanese Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 39–57.

With Chinese commentaries reaching monasteries, Buddhist monks began to study the *I Ching* in the early fourteenth century.³ There were two fore-runners of *I Ching* studies: Kōhō Kennichi (1241–1316) and Issan Ichi'nei (1247–1317). Kōhō employed the *I Ching* to answer a famous Zen question: “What was our condition before we were born (to our parents)?” He replied: “The origins of the birth of the universe existed before the separation of heaven and earth. The origins of the change in everything existed before the drawing of the first line of the first hexagram [*ch'ien*].”⁴ This dialogue was an example of the use of the *I Ching* to explicate Buddhist ideas. Issan, a Chinese monk who spent his last years in Japan, was famous for his mastery of the *I Ching*. He favored a Han commentary, Yang Hsiung's (53 B.C.–A.D. 18) *T'ai-hsüan ching* (Book of Supremely Profound Principle), an ambitious attempt to replace the *I Ching* with a more complicated symbolic system. Hence, we can assume that Ichi'nei belonged to the school of symbols and numbers.⁵

The first great master of the *I Ching* in Japan was Kokan Shiren (1278–1346).⁶ He was probably the first person in Japan to use both the old and new commentaries of the *I Ching*. His scholarship bene-

3 Shunjō (1166–1227) and Enni Ben'en (1202–1280) were typical of those who contributed to the growth of non-government collections of Chinese books. Shunjō brought back 256 volumes of Confucian texts from Sung China in 1212 and lectured on the *I Ching*. Unfortunately, we do not know how many and what kind of *I Ching* commentaries he brought. See Linda Walton, “Sino-Japanese Relations in the Early Thirteenth Century: The Buddhist Monk Shunjō (1166–1227) in China, 1199–1212”, in *Ryū Shiken hakasei kinen Sōshi kenkyū ronshū* (Tokyo: Dōhōsha, 1989), pp. 567–576. Among the Chinese books Enni brought from Sung China in 1241, we find several pre-Sung commentaries on the *I Ching*. However, we have no evidence that Enni had studied the *I Ching*.

4 Quoted in Haga Kōshirō, *Chūsei Zenrin no kakumon oyobi bungaku ni kansuru kenkyū* (Tokyo: Maruzen shoten, 1956), p. 72.

5 According to Chinese traditions, *I Ching* studies can be divided into two major categories: the school of textual interpretation (*i-li*) and the school of symbols and numbers (*hsiang-shu*). The former studies the text, whereas the latter, its symbols and numbers.

6 As regards Kokan's views on Buddhist-Confucian relations, see Marian Ury, trans., “*Genko Shakusho: Japan's First Comprehensive History of Buddhism*”, doctoral dissertation (University of California, Berkeley, 1971), pp. 116–128.

fited from his extensive connections to different traditions of *I Ching* scholarship. At the age of twenty, Kokan studied its philosophy and divination with Minamoto Arifusa, a courtier from the prestigious Minamoto clan. Arifusa pleaded with Kokan: "The *I Ching* is the essence of my family teaching. It has been transmitted for more than thirty generations from the Great Minister, Kibi no Makibi (695?–775) to me. The transmission will end if I fail to find an appropriate person to succeed me. I look around, but find that no children in my family can be entrusted. Hence, I beg you to succeed me."⁷ At the same time, he studied literature with another courtier, Sugawara Arisuke, the *I Ching* instructor to Emperor Hanazono (1297–1348). Ten years later, Kokan met Issan and asked him about the *I Ching*. Issan lent him Yang Hsiung's *T'ai-hsüan ching*. By combining the *T'ai-hsüan ching* with his favorite commentary, Ch'eng I's *I Chuan*, Kokan reached a new understanding. Kokan expressed his gratitude to Issan:

My intelligence is poor and my knowledge is shallow. When I read Ch'eng's and Yang's commentaries on the *I Ching*, I did not fully understand. You, master [Issan], are knowledgeable. I rely on you to solve all my doubts. By combining the ideas of Ch'eng and Yang, thinking deeply and investigating quietly, we can surely find out the explanation. I hope I can be lucky enough to come back one day to receive your tutelage.⁸

This quotation suggests that Kokan adopted an eclectic approach to studying the old and new commentaries, and the textual and symbolic meanings of the *I Ching*. He trained two outstanding students: Chūgan Engetsu (1300–1375) and Gidō Shūshin (1326–1389).

Chūgan Engetsu was one of the finest scholars of the *I Ching* in the medieval period.⁹ He was a champion of the new commentary, and his explanations were based mainly on Chu Hsi's commentaries. But he was not a blind follower, and corrected some mistakes of Chu Hsi. Chūgan also used the *I Ching* to express his political ideas.

7 In *Kaizō oshō ki'nenroku*, quoted in *Chūsei Zenrin no kakumon oyobi bungaku ni kansuru kenkyū*, p. 89.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 72.

9 Ashikaga Enjutsu rates him as the best *I Ching* scholar in medieval Japan. See his *Kamakura Muromachi jidai no Jukyō* (Tokyo: Nihon koten zensho, 1932), p. 268.

In the explanation of the hexagram *ko* (change) in the *Kakukaihen* (A Thesis on the Hexagram *ko*) and *Jō Kemmu tenshi hyō* (A Memorial to Emperor Kemmu), he stated that reform was necessary, but should avoid being too radical.

Gidō Shūshin was a popularizer of the *I Ching*. He remarked: “The *I Ching* is a book for knowing destiny. It includes everything in heaven, earth, and man ... It cannot be understood without its oral transmission.”¹⁰ Hence, he put great emphasis on education. In order to provide his students with a better edition of the text, he punctuated the standard textbook for the civil service examination in Yüan China, *Chou-i chuan-i* (The Meaning of the *I Ching*), a combination of Chu Hsi’s and Ch’eng I’s commentaries edited by (Yüan) Tung Kai. Like Chūgan, Gidō stressed the political implications of the *I Ching*, and that the ruler must study it in order to equip himself with the art and philosophy of politics. He discussed the *I Ching* with the Shogunal deputy Uesugi Ujinori (d. 1417) and the Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358–1408). Gidō trained a number of brilliant students, including Kiyō Hōshū (1363–1424), Daichin Shūkō, Shinka Gendai, Seito Myōrin, and Tengan Bokuchū.

Kiyō Hōshū was an ardent reader of Sung commentaries, and favored Chu Hsi’s *I-hsüeh ch’i-meng* and Ch’eng I’s *I Chuan* in particular. He believed that the *I Ching* was in agreement with Buddhism, and studying it could help to achieve Buddhist enlightenment. One day in the spring of 1400, while Kiyō was reading *I-hsüeh ch’i-meng*, a fellow Zen monk, Renzan Kenkō, came to ask for his guidance on the *I Ching*. Renzan said: “I have studied Confucian interpretation of the *I Ching* in detail. Can I also hear our Buddhist interpretation?” Kiyō replied: “Nothing leaves the wonder of the Buddhist law. It is like the sixty-four hexagrams never leave the hexagrams *k’an* (abysmal) and *li* (clinging). The Buddha reached his enlightenment for the first time under a grapevine. It carries the same meaning as Fu Hsi’s drawing the eight trigrams ... There is a saying of Ch’eng I that I would rather read the hexagram *ken* (keeping still) than a set of the *Garland Sutra*.”¹¹ The first two comparisons in Kiyō’s quotation demonstrated that the *I Ching* and Buddhism had similarities in

10 In *Kūka nikkōshū* (entry 3rd of December, 1381), quoted in *Chūsei Zenrin no kakumon oyobi bungaku ni kansuru kenkyū*, p. 74.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

structure and in their stress on enlightenment. The Ch'eng I proverb implied that the hexagram *ken*, a hexagram of self-forgiveness and quietness, was in agreement with the spirit of Nirvāna (realization of Buddhahood) expounded in the *Garland Sutra*. His teaching of the *I Ching* was succeeded by that of Unshō Ikkei (1386–1463).

Unshō Ikkei is remembered as a popularizer of Tung Kai's *Chou-i chuan-i*, a popular text during the *sengoku* and early Tokugawa periods.¹² His *I Ching* scholarship was also indebted to other traditions. He was the elder brother of the famous *I Ching* court scholar, Ichijō Kanera (1402–1481), and was also closely associated with the Sugawara family, which lectured to the emperor on the *I Ching*. He passed his teachings onto Tōgen Zuisen (1403–1489).

Tōgen Zuisen stood at the apex of *I Ching* scholarship in medieval Japan. His mentors were scholars from different backgrounds: *go-zan* monks (Unshō Ikkei, Shōchū Shōzui, Jikuun Tōren, 1390–1471, Tengan Bokuchū, Zuikei Shūhō, and Seitō Myōrin), the *hakase* family (Kiyohara Naritada, 1409–1467), courtiers (Ichijō Kanera) and the Ashikaga School (Hakushū Sōjō).¹³ Tōgen developed his own interpretations in the *Hyakunōbusuma* (25 scrolls), the best commentary in medieval Japan. This influential book was a collection of Tōgen's teaching notes on the *I Ching*. He annotated Chinese commentaries from all periods.¹⁴ Tōgen's scholarship was eclectic; he accepted different schools and approaches such as textual interpretation, symbols and numbers, and divination.¹⁵ By combining the

12 For a long time, people believe that Unshō was the first person in Japan who read and introduced the *Chou-i chuan-i*. Haga Hōshirō has doubts about this because there is lack of documentary support. See *Chūsei Zenrin no kakumon oyobi bungaku ni kansuru kenkyū*, p. 77. Ōe Fumiki alleges that Gidō punctuated the *Chou-i chuan-i*. See his *Honpō Jugakushi ronkō* (Tokyo: Zenkoku shobō, 1944), p. 20.

13 Shōchū Shōzui was a master of divination and gave the *Chou-i ming-ch'i ching* (Book of Fate Calculation Using the *I Ching*) to Tōgen. Jikuun Tōren and Zuikei Shūhō seem to have influenced Tōgen on philosophy.

14 In particular, he focused on the following commentaries: (Wei) Wang Pi's *Chou-i chu*, (T'ang) Kung An-kuo's *Chou-i shu*, (T'ang) Li Chun-feng's *Chou-i meng-ch'i ching*, (Sung) Shao Yung's *I-chien meng t'uan*, (Sung) Ch'eng I's *I Chuan*, (Sung) Chu Hsi's *I-hsüeh ch'i-meng*, (Sung) Hu Fang-p'ing's *I-hsüeh ch'i-meng t'ung-shih*, (Yüan) Tung Kai's *Chou-i chuan-i*, (Yüan) Hu I-kuei's *I-hsüeh ch'i-meng yi-chuan*, and (Ming) Hu Kuang's *Chou-i ta-ch'üan*.

15 Influenced by *gunbai shisō* (theory of military oracles) of the Ashikaga School, Tōgen used the *I Ching* to predict the fate of warriors and the result

old and new commentaries, Tōgen developed his own original interpretations, which carried a strong Zen Buddhist tone. For example, in the explanation of *t'ai-chi* (Supreme Ultimate) and the sixty-four hexagrams, he wrote:

In the state of *t'ai-chi*, there was no difference between big and small, high and low, good and evil and so on ... There was no Buddha and people, no sorrow and Nirvāna, no hell and heaven ... This is called the state before the differentiation of the elements in the universe as well as the state prior to the birth of father and mother [in Zen doctrines] Later, *t'ai-chi* functioned and created the two poles, four symbols, and eight trigrams. Everything is included in the sixty-four hexagrams.¹⁶

His preference for Sung commentaries was clear. He tended to use Sung commentaries to explain the text whenever possible.¹⁷ His favorite commentaries were Chu Hsi's *I-hsüeh ch'i-meng* and Hu I-kuei's *I hsüeh ch'i-meng yi-chuan*. The main lineage of *I Ching* scholarship in Zen Buddhist circles inherited from Kokan ended with Tōgen who trained no important successors.

In brief, *I Ching* scholarship of Zen Buddhist monks had the following characteristics. First, it represented the finest scholarship in medieval Japan. It made major contributions to *I Ching* studies by punctuating and reprinting Chinese commentaries. Some monks even attempted to establish their own explanations. Second, it used both the pre-Sung and Sung commentaries in the beginning, and tended to adopt Sung commentaries as the main reference in late medieval times. Third, it was a secret transmission among Zen Buddhist scholars. Its main lineage was kept unbroken for centuries. Fourth, it was eclectic. The approaches of textual interpretation,

of battles. He also lectured on the *Chou-i meng-ch'i ching*, and taught people how to use the *I Ching* to foretell the whole life of a person. See *Kamakura Muromachi jidai no Jukyō*, p. 403.

16 In the fifth scroll of the *Hyakunōbusuma*, quoted in *Chūsei Zenrin no kakumon oyobi bungaku ni kansuru kenkyū*, p. 82. For more examples of Tōgen's originality in the explanation of the *I Ching*, see *Kamakura Muromachi jidai no Jukyō*, pp. 404–407.

17 Since he did not have access to Chu Hsi's *Chou-i pen-i*, Tōgen had to use Wang Pi's and Kung An-kuo's commentaries to explain the text sometimes. See *Chūsei Zenrin no kakumon oyobi bungaku ni kansuru kenkyū*, p. 90.

symbols and numbers, and divination were used. Fifth, it had strong Buddhist overtones in its explanations.

The Imperial Family and Courtiers

The court was another center of *I Ching* studies, where members from the imperial family, *hakase* families, and courtiers learned the *I Ching*.

It became very common, if not obligatory, for the Japanese emperor to study the *I Ching* and the Four books in the medieval period. In particular, Hanazono, Godaigo (1288–1339), and Sūkōin (1334–1398) were enthusiastic about the *I Ching*. They supported *I Ching* studies mainly for political reasons – to learn its political philosophy, and to claim legitimacy for their policies.

Hanazono rated the *I Ching* as the most important Confucius classic, and studied it with great effort. At the age of eighteen, he asked Sugawara Arisuke, the head of the Bureau of Education, to teach him the *I Ching*, but his request was turned down because of the ancient taboo which prohibited anyone under the age of fifty from studying the *I Ching*.¹⁸ Hanazono was very disappointed, and determined to break this taboo. Having abdicated at the age of twenty nine, he began to learn the *I Ching*. Hanazono regarded the *I Ching* as compulsory reading for the emperor because it contained a philosophy of government. He remarked:

Being in the position of emperor, how can one not know the heavenly will? Therefore Emperor Gouda (r. 1274–1287) and the current emperor [Godaigo] studied the *I Ching*. Although I am not good, I still read books which are worth reading. As I have already

18 The taboo was a peculiar feature in Japanese *I Ching* studies. Its origins seem to stem from a misinterpretation of the following statement from the *Lun Yü* (Analects): “If (heaven) gives me a few more years so that I can study the *I Ching* at the age of fifty, I will probably not make a major mistake.” The Chinese saw it as a declaration of the difficulty and moral value of the *I Ching*, whereas some Japanese narrowly interpreted it as an age restriction. This ancient taboo did not disappear completely in the medieval period. For details, see Imaizumi Toshio, “Eki no batsu ga atarukoto”, in his *Chūsei Nihon no shosō*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1989), pp. 571–587.

become the emperor, isn't it reasonable for me to read the book of heavenly will [i.e., *I Ching*].¹⁹

He stressed the importance of oral transmission, and opposed wanton interpretation, of the *I Ching* and other Confucian texts. He complained: “[Confucian scholars at court] are all ignorant of the real meaning [of Confucianism]. They develop their own interpretations from their reading of the *I Ching*, *Lun Yü*, *Meng Tzu* (Sayings of Mencius), *Ta Hsüeh* (Great Learning), and *Chung Yung* (Doctrine of the Mean). They advocate their own theories without receiving oral transmissions [of authentic interpretations]. As a result, things like criticisms and attacks arise.”²⁰ Hanazono's major interest was the philosophy of the *I Ching*. He did not believe in apocrypha (*chan-wei*), which insisted there was a correlation between natural phenomena and human activities. He argued that politics depended on the virtue of the emperor, and not natural phenomena.

Godaigo studied the *I Ching* in his youth, and promoted it among his courtiers. As a result, it became one of the most popular texts at court. Unlike Hanazono, Godaigo was quite superstitious, and believed that the *I Ching* was a book of oracles. He consulted it on almost every major decision in politics. Sometimes, he even followed the augury quite irrationally. For example, the *Taiheiki* (Record of the Grand Peace, c. 1372) records that: in 1332, Ashikaga Takauji (1305–1358) conquered Kyoto and Nitta Yoshisada (1301–1338) overthrew the Kamakura bakufu. Godaigo and his courtiers disagreed over the timing of returning to the capital, Kyoto. Godaigo wanted to return immediately, but the majority of his courtiers opposed him on the ground that war-stricken Kyoto was not safe yet. The emperor could not make up his mind, and thus consulted the *I Ching*. The result was the hexagram *shih* (the army); the augury implied that the emperor should authorize a man of virtue to fight as the general, return to the capital, and award the warriors fairly when the war was over. Following the oracle, he returned to the

19 In his diary, *Hanazonoin tennō shinki* (The Diary of the Cloistered Reigning Hanazono), quoted in Koji ruien kankōkai, ed., *Koji ruien, hōgibu 7* (Tokyo: Koji ruien kankōkai, 1909), p. 476.

20 Quoted in Yamanaka Hiroyuki, “Nihonjin to eki”, in Kaji Nobuyuki, ed., *Eki no sekai* (Tokyo: Shin jimbutsu ōraisha, 1987), p. 52.

capital and rewarded the warriors.²¹ The *I Ching* also seems to have played a certain role in politics during the Kemmu Restoration. Its idea of change provided ideological support for reform. It was not coincidental that many ardent supporters of the Restoration, such as Hino Suketomo (1290–1332), Hino Toshimoto (d. 1332), and Chūgan Engetsu were scholars of the *I Ching*. In particular, the Hino brothers were Godaigo's close aides, and contributed to many important policy decisions. For example, following the request of Hino Suketomo, who based his arguments on the *I Ching*, Godaigo changed the era name to Genkyō (1321–1324), a term itself borrowed from the *I Ching*.²² They also held anti-Ashikaga gatherings in the guise of Confucian seminars.

Sūkōin of the Northern Court studied the *I Ching* under Sugawara Ariatsu and a Zen monk, Kūya. Like Godaigo, he was interested in the *yin-yang* tradition, and used the *I Ching* as a divination manual. A monk stated: “[The ex-emperor] is absorbed in the study of the hexagrams [of the *I Ching*] and has a deep understanding of the changes in time and fate.”²³

Thanks to respectable students like Hanazono, Godaigo and Sūkōin, the study of the *I Ching* became prevalent among courtiers. The *hakase* family produced excellent scholars, and became the center of *I Ching* studies outside the sphere of Buddhism. There were four major *hakase* families in medieval Japan: the Kiyohara and Nakahara were the doctors of classics (*myōkyō hakase*), and the Hino and Sugawara were the doctors of letters (*monjō hakase*). In particular, the Kiyohara and Sugawara families had a long tradition of *I Ching* studies.

The Sugawara family specialized in the *I Ching*, and produced important scholars and writings. Their family-library had a rich col-

21 Ibid., pp. 47–49.

22 The changing reign name serves as a barometer of the growing influence of the *I Ching* at court. According to Uda Naoshi, there were 94 reign names used from the Heian to Kamakura periods. They were quoted from the following six Confucian classics: *Shu Ching* (37), *I Ching* (27), *Shih Ching* (15), *Li Chi* (8), *Tso Chuan* (4), and *Hsiao Ching* (3). The *I Ching* was second in terms of frequency. It was used more often during the Kamakura period. See Uda Naoshi, *Nihon Bunka ni oyoboseru Jukyō teki eikyō* (Tokyo: Tōyō shisō kenkyūjo, 1935), p. 120.

23 In *Jōkō kokushi goroku*, quoted in *Kamakura Muromachi jidai no Jukyō*, p. 175.

lection of books on the *I Ching*. Their scholarship was rather conservative; it aimed to fuse a selected part of the new commentary with the old. It contributed to the pronunciation, punctuation and annotation of the *I Ching*, and exerted a tremendous impact on all other schools, including those of the Kiyohara family, the Ashikaga School, and Zen Buddhism. In particular, prominent *I Ching* scholars, such as Hakushū Sōjō and Tōgen Zuisen, were indebted to it. The family members gave lectures on the *I Ching* to the imperial family frequently; many courtiers and Buddhist monks also came to receive the family's guidance. For example, Sugawara Arisuke taught Emperor Hanazono, and his brother, Sugawara Ariatsu, taught Emperor Sūkōin the *I Ching* in the fourteen century. In the reign of Jōji (1362–1368), Sugawara Toyonaga went to teach the *I Ching* in the Kanto area. Many monks from Kamakura came to attend his open lectures. It is suggested that the teaching of the Sugawara family influenced the Ashikaga School through this contact.²⁴ Sugawara Hidenaga (d. 1412), the *I Ching* instructor to Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, was probably the greatest scholar in this lineage. He exchanged opinions on the *I Ching* with his close friend, Gidō Shūshin. Influenced by the rationalism of Chu Hsi's and (Sung) Yang Wan-li's commentaries, Hidenaga criticized the apocrypha and other superstitions associated with the *I Ching*. Sugawara Ekinaga, on the other hand, believed in the apocryphal and *yin-yang* interpretations of the *I Ching*. He submitted an article to Emperor Gohanazono (r. 1428–1464) in 1441 to urge him to alter the era name and government institutions in order to prepare for the changes that he believed would happen that year.²⁵ Sugawara Nagaatsu (1502–1549) used the Chu Hsi and Ch'eng I commentaries as the main reference for his lectures. In 1528, he successfully persuaded Emperor Gonara (r. 1526–1557) to change the reign name to *Kyōroku*, a term from the *I Ching*.

The Kiyohara family began its *I Ching* scholarship in the Heian period. Their conservatism can be seen in their adoption of the Wang Pi's commentary and obedience of the ancient taboo. The Kiyohara

24 Wajima Yoshio, *Chūsei no Jugaku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1965), p. 249.

25 See Yasui Kōzan, *Chūgoku shinpī shisō no Nihon he no tenkai* (Tokyo: Taishō daigaku shuppanbu, 1983), p. 129.

were at first outshone by the Sugawara family in *I Ching* studies. The first one to establish the authority of the Kiyohara family in *I Ching* scholarship was Kiyohara Naritada. Naritada introduced Sung commentaries into his family tradition. He taught Emperor Hanazono the *I Ching* and other Confucian classics. His lectures on Chu Hsi's *I-hsüeh ch'i-meng* were published as the *Ekigaku keimō kōgi* (Lectures on the *I-hsüeh ch'i-meng*). His scholarship on the *I Ching* became so famous that even Tōgen came to study under him. Tōgen borrowed heavily from the *Ekigaku keimō kōgi* in his *Hyakunōbusuma*. Kiyohara Nobukata (1475–1550), a grandson of Naritada's, was one of the greatest *I Ching* scholars of the entire medieval period. He represented the apex of *I Ching* scholarship at court. At first, following the family tradition, Nobukata began to study the *I Ching* at the age of fifty, and punctuated Wang Pi's *Chou-i chu* the same year. Soon after, he shifted his attention to Sung commentaries, and finished two important works: *Shūeki shō* (A Commentary on the *I Ching*, 4 scrolls) and *Ekigaku keimō tsūshaku shō* (A Commentary on the *I-hsüeh ch'i-meng t'ung-shih*). The *Shūeki shō* included different commentaries from all ages and was one of the most important source books in medieval Japan. The *Ekigaku keimō tsūshaku shō* was a version of (Sung) Hu Fang-p'ing's *I hsüeh ch'i-meng t'ung-shih* punctuated and annotated in Japan. By combining the old and new commentaries, Nobukata attempted to establish his own explanations. He also developed the other aspect of his family tradition, divination by writing the *Shūeki zureki ryakketsu* (A Short Note on the Graphic and Calendrical Studies of the *I Ching*), and punctuating the *Eki zeigi* (Divination of the *I Ching*). His students of the *I Ching* included both courtiers and Zen Buddhist monks, such as Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537) and Ikkin.

While *hakase* families studied the *I Ching* as a Confucian classic, the two families of the Bureau of Divination, the Abe and the Kamo, used it for divination. The *I Ching* and (Sui) Hsiao Chi's *Wu-hsing ta-i* (Fundamental Principles of *Wu-hsing*, c. 600) were their main texts. They applied the *I Ching* to divination, the military, medicine, astrology and court rituals. The Abe family was famous for its accurate military predictions. For example, Hōjō Yoshitoki (1163–1224) and Hōjō Masako (1157–1225) asked the Abe family for a forecast during the Jōkyū War (1221). They foretold of the bakufu's victory,

and this helped to boost the morale of the bakufu army.²⁶ Ashikaga Yoshimitsu trusted the head of Bureau, Abe Ariyo, who had accurately predicted the occurrence of rebellions. He was often beside Yoshimitsu in the army as a military advisor (*gunshi*).

The *I Ching* was popular reading material among the courtiers in medieval Japan. Apart from specially designated families, such as the *hakase* and *onmyōdō*, there were many individual courtiers who studied the *I Ching*. The most famous of these included Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354), Ichijō Kanera, Yoshida Kanetomo (1435–1511) and the Sanjōnishi brothers.

Kitabatake Chikafusa's *Jimnō shōtōki* (Chronicle of the Direct Descent of Gods and Sovereigns, rev. 1343) was indebted to Watarai Ieyuki's (1255–1352) *Ruijū jingi hongen* (Classified Dictionary on the Origins of Shinto Deities). Ieyuki used the *I Ching* and *Wu-hsing ta-i* to explain the beginning of the universe. Chikafusa quoted extensively from the *I Ching* and two Chou Tun-i commentaries, *T'ai-chi-t'u shuo*, and *I t'ung shu* (A General Explanation of the *I Ching*), to elucidate Shinto.²⁷ For example, he used the concept of *yin-yang wu-hsing* in the *T'ai-chi-t'u shuo* to explain the genealogy of the first seven generations of Japanese deities. He discredited the apocrypha of the *I Ching*, and argued that politics hinged solely on the virtue of the ruler. Thus, he opposed Miyoshi Kiyoyuki's proposal to change the era name.

Ichijō Kanera grew up in an environment that enabled him to learn different traditions of *I Ching* scholarship. His grandfather, Ichijō Tsunemichi, was an advocate of Chu Hsi's commentary on the *I Ching*. His grandfather-in-law was the *I Ching* authority at court, Sugawara Hidenaga. His elder brother was the famous monk-scholar, Unshō Ikkei. Kanera himself was a champion of the Ch'eng and Chu commentaries. In the *Nihon shoki sanso* (A Commentary on the *Nihon shoki*), he used the *I Ching* to expound the doctrine of the unity of the Three Teachings: Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism (*sankyō itchi*).

Yoshida Kanetomo was the founder of Yoshida Shinto. The Yoshida family (originally Urabe) had acted as the shamans in the Bu-

26 See Murayama Shūichi, *Nihon Onmyōdōshi sōsetsu* (Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1981), pp. 293–294.

27 For details on the impact of the *I Ching* on the *Jimnō shōtōki*, see Nakamura Shōhachi, *Gogyō taigi zenshaku* (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1986), pp. 22–25.

reau of Divination since the Heian period. The *I Ching* was the main source of this family tradition. Kanetomo also studied with a Zen monk, Ōsen Keisan (1429–1493). Like Chikafusa and Kanera, he attempted to use the *I Ching* to elucidate Shinto, dwelling upon questions, such as “What is the meaning of God?” and “What was the situation before the beginning of the universe?”²⁸ He wrote the *Shūeki zeigi* (Rituals of Divination in the *I Ching*), which later became a standard divination manual after it was punctuated by Kiyohara Nobukata. Kanetomo also applied the *yin-yang wu-hsing* theory to the military. He was the father of Kiyohara Nobukata who was later adopted by the Kiyohara family. Nobukata’s interest in divination seems to have come from this connection.

Sanjōnishi Saneatsu and his son, Sanetaka, studied the *I Ching* under Tōgen and Ikkin. In the *Sanetakakōki* (Records of Duke Sanetaka), Ikkin told them that during the transmission of *I Ching* divination methods, they had to obey very strict regulations: They were not allowed to eat any crop threshed by women, nor to go out for one hundred days, and they were to concentrate on study to the extent that meals and sleep should be sacrificed.²⁹ Sanetaka surpassed his father and became the successor of Tōgen. Sanetaka studied the *I Ching* at the age of fifty, and later did textual comparisons and punctuated a number of commentaries. He had close relations with *I Ching* scholars at court, including Kiyohara Naritada and Yoshida Kanetomo. He read the *I Ching* and *Eki zeigi* punctuated by Kiyohara Nobukata. Following the advice of Nobukata, he borrowed the *Shūeki zeigi* from Kanetomo and copied it by hand. He also borrowed the *I-hsüeh ch’i-meng t’ung-shih* from the Kamo family.

In general, the intellectual atmosphere at court was conservative and eclectic. It contained a great variety of students. Both the philosophy, divination, and practical aspects of the book (such as its use for military, medical, and scientific practices) were explored. In particular, the Sugawara and Kiyohara families achieved a high level of scholarship.

28 *Kamakura Muromachi jidai no Jukyō*, p. 677.

29 “Eki no batsu ga atarukoto”, pp. 572–573.

The Ashikaga School

During the latter half of the medieval period, after both the *gozan* and *hakase* traditions had gone into decline, the Ashikaga School established itself as a new center of *I Ching* studies. Its scholarship is characterized by its eclecticism and practicality. This eclecticism can be seen from two perspectives. First, the Ashikaga School combined different traditions. Inspired by courtiers, sponsored by warriors, and run by Zen monks, it exerted a tremendous impact. It was also influenced deeply by the shamanistic practices of *Onmyōdō* and Shingon Buddhism. Second, the School treated the *I Ching* both as a book of wisdom and a book of oracles, and adopted both the old and new commentaries. Its practicality was expressed mainly in the form of *gunbai shisō*.³⁰ Its teachers and students served the *sengoku daimyō* (warrior-leaders of the *sengoku* period) as military advisors, shamans, physicians, architects, and even weathermen. Neo-Confucian medicine was introduced to Japan through the School. Scholarly discussion of the *I Ching* was only a sub-current at the School.

The Ashikaga School was famous for its Chinese studies in medieval Japan. The *I Ching* was the most important textbook in its curriculum. Since learning the *I Ching* was considered a sacred activity, the school had very strict regulations. Its remote location (now Ashikaga City in Tochigi Prefecture) separated it from urban distractions. The transmission of the *I Ching* was divided into two parts: *seiden* (major transmission) and *betsuden* (minor transmission). The former was the study of its philosophical and ethical meanings, whereas the latter was the process of learning to practice divination.

The *seiden* relied heavily on Sugawara scholarship. Tōgen explained: “Although there are many Japanese punctuations of the *I Ching*, I think the representative versions are the two punctuations

30 *Gunbai shisō* or the use of divination in the army had a long tradition in Japan. From the Heian period, the government had sent officials of the Bureau of Divination to the regional regiments. This idea became more prevalent in the medieval period. Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147–1199), Hōjō Yoshitoki, Hōjō Masako, Nitta Yoshisada and Ashikaga Yoshimitsu had used the *I Ching* oracles for military and political purposes. *Gunbai shisō* reached its apex during the *sengoku* period. Almost all *sengoku daimyō* employed *I Ching* diviners in their armies.

made by the Kō family [Ōe family] and the Sugawara family. Now, the Kō family has disappeared, and therefore the Ashikaga School has adopted the Sugawara's punctuation alone."³¹ It used the old commentary as its basis, and the new commentary as its reference. In particular, Wang Pi's commentary was the favorite text. The library of the Ashikaga School had an excellent collection of old commentaries on the *I Ching*. Its collection of new commentaries was strengthened by Uesugi Norizane (1410–1466) who brought many Sung and Yüan commentaries from China.³² It also published and reprinted some books on the *I Ching*.

Seiden means primary or fundamental transmission, but *betsuden* emerged as more significant in the actual teachings of the School. The Ashikaga School was a training center for *I Ching* diviners. Its curriculum put more emphasis on divination than philosophy. Using the *I Ching* and the *Chou-i ming-ch'i ching* as its major textbooks, it taught fourteen kinds of divinational skills, from the most basic yarrow-stalk oracle techniques to advanced methods such as fate calculation, astrology and geomancy. Many of these teachings seemed to come from *Onmyōdō* and Shingon Buddhism. Also, the School performed a ritual which was influenced by *Onmyōdō*. Before using the *I Ching* for divination, scholars of the school read a prayer which invited both Chinese and Japanese deities to come to the School. Here was a standard prayer made by the ninth rector, Kanshitsu Genkitsu (1548–1612), in 1596:

In Japan, I, XXX who comes from X province, X prefecture, and X county on X day of X month. I want to use the oracles to solve my doubts. I am wholeheartedly inviting all deities in heaven and earth, Gods of Sun and Moon, Gods of the Five Stars, ... the Child Holding the Yarrow Stalks, the Child Showing the Oracles, the God of the Six Lines ... all deities in Japan, Gods of the Four Directions, hundreds of guarding deities of the mountain, forest,

31 In *Hyakunōbusuma*, quoted in Yūki Rikurō, *Kanazawa bunko to Ashikaga gakkō* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1959), p. 231.

32 They included some books which Tōgen did not see. For example, Chu Hsi' *Chou-i pen-i*, (Sung) Li Chung-cheng's *Ch'in-hsien Chou-i-chuan*, and (Yüan) Tung Chen-Ching's *Chou-i hui-t'ung*. See Cheng Liang-sheng, *Yüan-Ming shih-tai tung-chuan Jih-pen ti wen-hsien* (Taipei: Wen-shih-che ch'u-pan-she, 1984), p. 112.

river, and sea, Fu Hsi, King Wen, the Duke of Chou, Confucius, Cheng Hsüan, Wang Pi, Chu Hsi, and the spirit of past masters of the *I Ching*. I hope all of you can come to this place of ritual. This [paper] is the proof of urgency, please come at once as requested.³³

The first rector was Kaigen (d. 1469) who was famous for his mastery of the *I Ching*. He made it the most important subject at the Ashikaga School. Kaigen had close ties to Shingon Buddhism, and was more interested in *betsuden*. He had two great students, Ippaku Genshin and Hakushū Sōjō, who established the School's reputation as the center of *I Ching* studies.

Unlike other Zen monks, Ippaku Genshin was initially a scholar of the *I Ching* who later turned to Zen Buddhism because of his understanding of the *I Ching*. He was highly respected as a great *I Ching* master. When he traveled to Western Japan, people said that the center of *I Ching* studies had also shifted to the West with him. His scholarship relied on old commentaries, such as those of Ma Jung, and Cheng Hsüan, Wang Pi, Han K'ang-po as the basis for his ideas, and selectively used those of Shao Yung, Chang Tsai, Ch'eng I, and Chu Hsi as references. He was at odds with Kaigen over the direction of the School. Ippaku insisted that *seiden* was the core of *I Ching* studies, and criticized the misuse of divination:

The *Chou-i meng-ch'i ching* is descended from ancient times, but we should not use it too often. Nowadays, people are indulging in this learning. They foretell their death by themselves, pointing out that a certain year will have a bad influence on a certain months and days. They frequently become the laughing stock.³⁴

He seemed to be particularly interested in Chu Hsi's *I-hsüeh ch'i-meng*. His lectures on the book, *Shūeki keimō tsūshaku kōgi* (The Oral Explanation of the *Chou-i ch'i-meng t'ung-shih*) and *Shūeki keimō yokuden kōgi* (The Oral Explanation of the *Chou-i ch'i-meng yi-chuan*), mainly adopted the interpretations from these two com-

33 Quoted in *Kamakura Muromachi jidai no Jukyō*, p. 616. In this ritual, we see the fusion of Shinto, Confucianism and *Yin-yang* thought (or *Onmyōdō*). *I Ching* scholarship became eclectic and naturalized in this process.

34 Quoted in *Chūsei Zenrin no kakumon oyobi bungaku ni kansuru kenkyū*, p. 85.

mentaries: (Sung) Hu Fang-p'ing's *I-hsüeh ch'i-meng t'ung-shih* and (Yüan) Hu I-kuei's *Chou-i ch'i-meng yi-chuan*. Ippaku's lectures received warm praise from his contemporaries. Even the Kiyohara family included them in their family library, now *Kiyohara bunko*. Influenced by (Ming) Hsiung Tsung-li, Ippaku applied the *I Ching* to medicine. His teachings had a great impact on *gozan* monks; and he was succeeded by Gesshū Jukei.

Hakushū Sōjō entered the Ashikaga School in 1440 at the age of twenty five. His performance impressed Kaigen so much that he was allowed to study the *I Ching* under the mentor of Kaigen, Kizen, at the age of thirty one. His edition of Kaigen's and Kizen's lectures became the *Shūeki yōjiki* (Major Events in My Study of the *I Ching*). Soon thereafter, he became a celebrated master of the *I Ching* himself, and traveled extensively to spread his teachings. He had a preference for Sung commentaries, although he did not deny the value of old commentaries. In his teaching, he used the *Hsi Tz'u* (The Commentary on the Appended Judgments), one of the Ten Wings (*shih-yi*, ten oldest commentaries), as the textbook for beginners. For advanced students, he used Sung commentaries, particularly Chu Hsi's *I-hsüeh ch'i-meng* and Shao Yung's *Huang-chi ching shih shu* (Supreme Principles Governing the World), as the main reference. His greatest contribution was his *Shūeki shō* (3 scrolls), a source book on Chinese scholarship. Its structure and content influenced Tōgen's *Hyakunōbusuma*. His students included Tōgen Zuisen, Osen Kensan, and Keijo Shūrin (1440–1578).³⁵

Teni, the second rector, adopted the punctuation of the Kiyohara family, and absorbed more from the new commentary than Kaigen did. The Ashikaga School reached its peak during the tenure of the seventh rector, Kyūka (d. 1578). The enrollment of regular students rose to three thousand, and its *I Ching* seminars attracted large audiences from different parts of Japan. More than a hundred people received the "secret transmission" of the *I Ching*. One of them was Kishun Ryūki (1511–1574), who taught Bunshi Genshō (1555–1615), the most famous punctuator of the *I Ching* in early modern Japan. Kyūka also taught the daimyō of Odawara, Hōjō Ujijyasu (1515–1571) and his son, Hōjō Ujimasa (1538–1590), the *I Ching*. Kyūka

35 See Suzuki Hiroshi, *Shūekishō no kokugogaku teki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Seibundō, 1972), pp. 1–3.

wrote a book on *I Ching* divination, *Jūrijōhenketsu*. His lecture on the *I Ching* became the *Ekikyō kōgi* (Lectures on the *I Ching*).

Kyūka's beloved student, Kanshitsu Genkitsu (also called Sanyō) became the ninth rector of the School. He is remembered more as a diviner than a teacher or monk. Under his leadership, the image of the school as a training school for military shamans was firmly established. Many of his students were employed by regional warriors as military advisors. He himself also had close relations with Takeda Shingen (1521–1573) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616). Shingen's strong belief in the *I Ching* might have been influenced by Kanshitsu. Shingen tended to exclusively recruit graduates of the Ashikaga School as his military advisors.³⁶ Kanshitsu was famous for his role as a shaman in helping Tokugawa Ieyasu at the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, and in checking the *feng-shui* (geomancy) of Hagi Castle for Mōri Terumoto (1552–1625). Following the orders of Ieyasu, he was put in charge of the publication of the Fushimi edition of the *I Ching*.

Characteristics of I Ching Studies

I believe that the characteristics of *I Ching* studies in medieval Japan were as follows:

First, *I Ching* scholarship was an eclectic form of learning included in the Mahāyāna Buddhist system, but one which also fused many elements from *Onmyōdō* and Shinto. Confucianism had been the mainstream school of thought in traditional China, whereas it was only a “maidservant” to other currents of thought in medieval Japan. Confucians did not even exist as an independent intellectual or social group in medieval Japan. There were only “amateur Confucians” like Buddhist monks, courtiers, Shintoists and so on. They employed the *I Ching* and other Confucian texts to elucidate and enrich their beliefs. *I Ching* studies had to wait until the Tokugawa period to establish itself as a part of Confucianism in Japan.

36 There is an interesting story in the *Kōyō gunkan* (Military Records of the Takeda House). One day, Nagasaka Chōkan, a senior retainer, recommended his own shaman, Tokugan, to Shingen. Shingen refused on the grounds that Tokugan had not graduated from the Ashikaga School. See “Nihonjin to eki”, pp. 54–55.

Second, the new (or Sung) commentary was adopted, and became the main reference in the latter half of the medieval period. The traditional view that Sung learning only became influential in Confucian circles after the efforts of early Tokugawa Confucians is now untenable. Our investigation clearly demonstrates that the development of Confucianism in medieval Japan was, in a sense, the history of the new commentary replacing the old. Zen Buddhist monks began to use the new commentary as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century. Other traditions of *I Ching* studies also adopted the new commentary no later than the early fifteenth century. During the latter half of the medieval period, the new commentary became the main reference for all traditions – *gozan* monks, *hakase* families, courtiers, and the Ashikaga School.

Third, medieval scholarship made the earliest efforts to naturalize the *I Ching* in Japan. Both Japanese-punctuated texts and Japanese commentaries contributed to the naturalization of Confucianism. At first, the purpose of punctuation was probably to popularize Chinese texts for the people unable to read classical Chinese. The reading of Chinese texts through a Japanese form somehow shaped the content and the Japanese readers' perception of the text. Japanese scholars also wrote commentaries, and discussed Chinese texts in the context of Japanese history and culture. Buddhist, Shinto and *Onmyōdō* elements were added into the Japanese *I Ching* tradition in this process.

Fourth, study of the *I Ching* was a rudimentary kind of scholarship, limited to scholars using Japanese punctuation and commenting on Chinese texts. Medieval scholarship was not mature enough to develop its own interpretations. Perhaps with the exception of Tōgen Zuisen, very few *I Ching* scholars showed a level of originality and scholarship comparable to Chinese scholars.

Fifth, *I Ching* scholarship was highly pragmatic. Unlike their Chinese and Korean counterparts, *I Ching* scholars of medieval Japan did not organize sophisticated discussions about metaphysical and scholarly topics, such as *li-ch'i* (principle and material force), and *jen-hsing* (human nature). Instead, they applied the *I Ching* to politics, the military, medicine, calendrical studies, and other practical areas. The Ashikaga School was the best example of practical *I Ching* scholarship.

Sixth, divination was an important part of *I Ching* studies, and almost all traditions used it. The *Chou-i meng-ch'i ching* was one

of the most widely read and cited commentaries. Divination became extremely popular during the *sengoku* period. *Gunbai shisō* was a peculiar form of *I Ching* divination. The Ashikaga School served as a training school for shamen. Professional *I Ching* diviners (*ekisha*) also appeared in the *sengoku* period; they consulted people on street corners.

Seventh, *I Ching* studies spread down from aristocrats and elite Buddhist monks to the lower social strata. The *I Ching* was, at first, an exclusive text used by a very limited number of political and religious elites. The ancient taboo and its oral transmission also prevented it from being popularized. With the publication of Japanese-punctuated texts, the decline of the nobility, and the better opportunities for a basic education available to the lower classes during the *sengoku* period, however, the *I Ching* became open to all classes. Its acceptance in the life and folklore of the common people also had an important impact on the popular culture of medieval Japan.³⁷

These characteristics can help us understand the continuity of *I Ching* scholarship between medieval and Tokugawa times. Some distinctive features, such as its eclecticism, naturalization, and practical usage, continued to characterize Tokugawa scholarship. New developments occurred in late medieval times, such as the independence of Confucianism, the prominence of new commentaries, and its growth in popularity among the populace, became full-grown in the Tokugawa period.

37 For a basic understanding of the influence of the *I Ching* on medieval culture, see *Nihon Onmyōdōshi sōsetsu*, pp. 393–410.