

# 武士道

日本民族精神的哲学阐释

【日】新渡户稻造 著

陈高华 译

群言出版社



思想館①

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### 新渡户稻造 (1862—1933) 享誉国

际的日本教育家、农学家、政治家。1862年生于日本岩手县的高阶武士家庭。先后就读于札幌农学校、东京帝国大学、美国约翰霍普金斯大学，在德国获农业经济学博士学位。1903至1919年，在京都帝国大学取得教授资格，并担任东京第一高等学校校长，随后成为东京帝国大学教授，同时也是东京女子大学的首任校长。1901至1903年任职台湾总督府农业事务官员，1920年成为国际联盟的事务次长，被誉为“国联闪耀之星”。1926至1933年间，担任日本贵族院议员，从1929年起开始兼任太平洋问题调查会理事长。

他早在青少年时代就立志要成为东西方交流的桥梁。在达成这个理想的过程中，于1933年带领日本代表赴加拿大参与国际会议时，在维多利亚岛辞世。

作为一位卓有成就的学者、政治家，新渡户稻造著作颇丰，著有《农业本论》、《自警录》、《伟人群像》、《武士道》等书。其中，《武士道》一书是他以英文撰写的传世经典，1899年首度出版，1905年经改写而重新推出，一百多年来广受关注，影响巨大，是研究日本的必读书。该书已被译为17种语言。

为表彰新渡户稻造的功绩，日本政府用他作为日币五千圆钞票的肖像人物。



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## INTRODUCTION

AT the request of his publishers, to whom Dr. Nitobe has left some freedom of action concerning prefatory matter, I am glad to offer a few sentences of introduction to this new edition of Bushido, for readers of English everywhere. I have been acquainted with the author for over fifteen years, indeed, but, in a measure at least, with his subject during forty-five years.

It was in 1860, in Philadelphia (where, in 1847, I saw the Susquehanna, Commodore Perry's flagship launched), that I looked on my first Japanese and met members of the Embassy from Yedo. I was mightily impressed with these strangers, to whom Bushido was a living code of ideals and manners. Later, during three years at Rut-

## 导 言

应出版商的邀请,并且得到了新渡户博士的允许,我较为自由地处理序言,因此我很高兴为世界各地的英语读者给这一新出版的《武士道》一书写几句导言性的文字。确实,我与作者结识已经超过十五年了,但是,就这本书所论及的主题而言,我至少与之已有四十五年的交往了。

那是 1860 年在费城 (1847 年我在那里看到了海军准将佩里的旗舰的下水典礼),我第一次见到日本人,他们是来自江户的大使。我

gers College, New Brunswick, N. J., I was among scores of young men from Nippon, whom I taught or knew as fellow-students. I found that Bushido, about which we often talked, was a superbly winsome thing. As illustrated in the lives of these future governors, diplomats, admirals, educators, and bankers, yes, even in the dying hours of more than one who "fell on sleep" in Willow Grove Cemetery, the perfume of this most fragrant flower of far-off Japan was very sweet. Never shall I forget how the dying samurai lad, Kusakabe, when invited to the noblest of services and the greatest of hopes, made answer: "Even if I could know your Master, Jesus, I should not offer Him only the dregs of a life." So, "on the banks of the old Raritan," in athletic sports, in merry jokes at the supper table when contrasting things Japanese and Yankee, and in the discussion of ethics and ideals, I felt quite willing to take the "covert missionary retort," about which my friend Charles Dudley Warner once wrote. At some points, codes of ethics and proprieties differed, but rather in dots or tangents than as occultation or eclipse. As their

对这些陌生人印象深刻,对他们而言,武士道就是理想和行为的活生生的准则。之后,在新泽西州新布伦斯维克的路加斯学院学习的三年期间,我与来自日本的年轻人一起生活,我给他们上课,也像同龄学生一样和他们朝夕相处。我发现,我们常常在一起谈论关于武士道的事情,是非常令人着迷的。这些未来的统治者、外交家、舰队司令、教育家和银行家的生活,即使是那些“长眠于”维洛格拉夫墓地的人在临终时的表现,都表明,从遥远的日本最芳香的花朵飘来的香气是非常甜美的。我永远都忘不了武士日下部在临死时说的话,当时有人劝他皈依最高贵的神灵,他回答说:“即使我识见你们的主耶稣,我也不会把生命之糟粕献于他。”因此,“在古老的拉立坦河岸边”,在运动场上,在晚餐桌上一边比较着日美的事物、一边开着玩笑时,以及在谈论伦理和理想时,我就非常愿意采取所谓的“传教士的隐秘反驳”,这一点我的朋友查尔斯·杜德雷·华纳曾经描述过。在一些方面,

own poet wrote—was it a thousand years ago? —when in crossing a moor the dew-laden flowers brushed by his robe left their glittering drops on his brocade, “On account of its perfume, I brush not this moisture from my sleeve.” Indeed, I was glad to get out of ruts, which are said to differ from graves only by their length. For, is not comparison the life of science and culture? Is it not true that, in the study of languages, ethics, religions, and codes of manners, “he who knows but one knows none”?

Called, in 1870, to Japan as pioneer educator to introduce the methods and spirit of the American public-school system, how glad I was to leave the capital, and at Fukui, in the province of Echizen, see pure feudalism in operation! There I looked on Bushido, not as an exotic, but in its native soil. In daily life I realised that Bushido, with its cha-no-yu, hara-kiri, polite prostrations on the mats and genuflections on the street, rules of the sword and road, all leisurely salutations and politest moulds of speech, canons of art and conduct, as well as heroisms for wife,

我们的伦理准则和礼节有所不同,但这也只是点与切线之间的差别,而不会有日蚀和月蚀的区别那么大。正如他们自己的诗人所写的那样——大概是一千年前吧——当时这位诗人从荒野走过,长袍的衣带碰到了沾满露珠的花,锦缎上留下了闪闪发光的露珠,这时他写到,“因为它的芳香,所以不要拂去衣袖上的露水。”的确,我庆幸自己免于成为井底之蛙,它与坟墓的差别只是深浅不一而已。因为,比较是科学和文化的生命。在研究语言、伦理、宗教以及行为准则方面,“仅知其一者,一无所知”,难道不是吗?

作为介绍美国公学方法和精神的先锋教育家,我于1870年受召到了日本,离开首都,在越前地方的福井,我见识到了运作中的纯粹的封建制度,你不知道我有多高兴!在那里我看到了土生土长的武士道,而决非猎奇的异国情调。在日常的生活中,我认识到,武士道,以及茶道、柔道、切腹、在草席上礼节性地俯伏和在街道上屈膝行礼、佩



maid, and child, formed the universal creed and praxis of all the gentry in the castled city and province. In it, as a living school of thought and life, girl and boy alike were trained. What Dr. Nitobe received as an inheritance, had breathed into his nostrils, and writes about so gracefully and forcibly, with such grasp, insight, and breadth of view, I saw. Japanese feudalism “died without the sight” of its ablest exponent and most convincing defender. To him it is as wafted fragrance. To me it was “the plant and flower of light.”

Hence, living under and being in at the death of feudalism, the body of Bushido, I can bear witness to the essential truth of Dr. Nitobe's descriptions, so far as they go, and to the faithfulness of his analysis and generalisations. He has limned with



武士道是日本人理想的行为准则

刀和与人交往的准则、一切恬静的致意和礼节性的言谈礼法、技艺和行为的规矩,还有保护妻妾子女的侠义行为,构成了这个城市和藩国中所有贵族的普遍信条和实践。新渡户博士作为一种遗产接受下来的、

在他的心中回荡的,如今以理解、见识和宽广的视野用优雅有力的文笔描述出来的东西,我亲眼看到了。日本的封建制度,由于其没有最能干的解释者和最雄辩的辩护者的“见识,消失了”。对他来说,这是一种飘逝的芳香。对我而言,它是“明亮的树和花”。

因此,作为一个曾在封建制度这一武士道的母体下生活并亲眼目睹其死亡的人,我可以证明新渡户博士的描述本质上是真实的,而

masterly art and reproduced the colouring of the picture which a thousand years of Japanese literature reflects so gloriously. The Knightly Code grew up during a millenium of evolution, and our author lovingly notes the blooms that have starred the path trodden by millions of noble souls, his countrymen.

Critical study has but deepened my own sense of the potency and value of Bushido to the nation. He who would understand twentieth-century Japan must know something of its roots in the soil of the past. Even if now as invisible to the present generation in Nippon as to the alien, the philosophic student reads the results of to-day in the stored energies of ages gone. The sunbeams of unrecorded time have laid the strata out of which Japan now digs her foot-pounds of impact for war or peace. All the spiritual senses are keen in those nursed by Bushido. The crystalline lump has dissolved in the sweetened cup, but the delicacy of the flavour remains to cheer. In a word, Bushido has obeyed the higher law enunciated by One whom its own exponent salutes and confesses his Master—"Except a grain of corn die, it abideth alone;

且他的分析和概括也是忠实的。他以精湛的艺术描绘再现了一千年来的日本文学辉煌地展现出来的五彩缤纷的画面。武士道是在一千年的历史长河中发展出来的，而我们的作者亲切地记下了他的同胞中上百万高贵的灵魂行走的道路上点缀的花朵。

对其进行批判性的研究，更加深了我关于武士道对于这个国家的力量和价值的影响。任何一个想要理解二十世纪的人，都必须知道植根于过去的土壤中的一些东西。即使是现在不但是外国人，即使是日本人也看不见它了，但是，有洞见的研究者能够在逝去岁月中所蕴藏的能量中看到今天的结果。遥远的阳光时代所奠定的基础，如今被日本挖掘出来致力于战争或者和平。所有的精神感觉，都体现在武士道精神孕育出来的人身上。晶体虽然溶解在杯子中，但那缭绕的香气依然令人感到十分惬意。总之，武士道服从一个人发出的更高指令，而这个人自己也要服从他的主人——“一粒麦子死了，那么它依

but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit.”

Has Dr. Nitobe idealised Bushido? Rather, we ask, how could he help doing so? He calls himself “defendant.” In all creeds, cults, and systems, while the ideal grows, exemplars and exponents vary. Gradual cumulation and slow attainment of harmony is the law. Bushido never reached a final goal. It was too much alive, and it died at last only in its splendour and strength. The clash of the world’s movement—for so we name the rush of influences and events which followed Perry and Harris—with feudalism in Japan, did not find Bushido an embalmed mummy, but a living soul. What it really met was the quickening spirit of humanity. Then the less was blessed of the greater. Without losing the best in her own history and civilisation, Japan, following her own noble precedents, first adopted and then adapted the choicest the world had to offer. Thus her opportunity to bless Asia and the race became unique, and grandly she has embraced it—“in diffusion ever more intense.” To-day, not only are our gardens, our art, our homes en-

旧是一粒；如果是落在地里死了，那么就能够结出许多粒来。”

新渡户博士是不是把武士道理想化了呢？我们其实应该问的是，他能不能把武士道理想化吗？在所有的信条、宗教和体系中，随着理想的发展，范例和典型总是在变化。其规律就是逐渐的累积，渐渐地达到和谐。武士道从未达到它的最终目标。它太有生机了，以至于在它最终要消失的时候，依然充满了魅力和力量。当日本的走向世界运动（这是我们对培理和哈里斯以来的事件和影响所取的名称）撞击着日本的封建制度时，我们发现武士道不是一个涂满防腐剂的木乃伊，而是一个活的灵魂。它真正所遇到的是勃兴的人性精神。因此，弱小的国家受到强大国家的祝福。日本无需失去她自己历史和文明中最美好的东西，首先应该吸取她自己高贵的祖先留下的东西，然后再吸取世界提供给她最好的东西。因此，日本拥有赐福于亚洲和人类的独一无二的机会，而且她完美地抓住了这次机会——“在传播中不断地增强。”

riched by the flowers, the pictures, and the pretty things of Japan, whether “trifles of a moment or triumphs for all time,” but in physical culture, in public hygiene, in lessons for peace and war, Japan has come to us with her hands gift-laden.

Not only in his discourse as advocate and counsel for the defence, but as prophet and wise householder, rich in things new and old, our author is able to teach us. No man in Japan has united the precepts and practice of his own Bushido more harmoniously in



日本社会为武士道的生长提供了土壤

如今,不仅仅是在我们的花园里、我们的艺术作品中、我们的家中聚集了日本的花、日本的画和日本的精致小器物,不管这是“一时的娱乐,还是永久的胜利”,而且在自然文化、公共卫生、和平与战争的教训中,日本也满载着礼物走向我们。

不仅作为被告的拥护者和辩护者,而且作为拥有丰富的新旧事物的预言家和明智的家长,作者都有能力教导我们。在日本,没有人比作者在生活与活动、劳动与工作、体力劳动和脑力劳动、土壤文化和灵魂文化中更为和谐地把自己的武士道戒律和实践结合在一

life and toil, labour and work, craft of hand and of pen, culture of the soil and of the soul. Illuminator of Dai Nippon's past, Dr. Nitobe is a true maker of the New Japan. In Formosa, the empire's new accretion, as in Kioto, he is the scholar and practical man, at home in newest science and most ancient diligence.

This little book on Bushido is more than a weighty message to the Anglo-Saxon nations. It is a notable contribution to the solution of this century's grandest problem—the reconciliation and unity of the East and the West. There were of old many civilisations; in the better world coming there will be one. Already the terms “Orient” and “Occident,” with all their freight of mutual ignorance and insolence, are ready to pass, away. As the efficient middle term between the wisdom and communism of Asia and the energy and individualism of Europe and America, Japan is already working with resistless power.

Instructed in things ancient and modern and cultured in the literatures of the world, Dr. Nitobe herein shows himself admirably fit-

起。作为大日本历史的体现者，新渡户博士是新日本真正的缔造者。在京都和日本帝国新占领的台湾，他既是一位学者，又是一位实践家，既精通最新的科学，又精通古代的学术。

这本关于武士道的小书，对于盎格鲁-撒克逊的国家来说，不仅仅是一个重要的讯息。它是解决这个世纪最大问题——东西方的和谐与团结——的一个最卓越的贡献。曾经有过许多古老的文明：但是在将要到来的更加美好的世界，则只有一个文明。“东方各国”和“欧美各国”这样的术语，以及他们所带有的对彼此的无知傲慢，已经成为了过去。作为亚洲的智慧和集体主义与欧美的活力和个人主义相比是最有效的中间者，日本已经在不屈不挠地工作着。

博古通今、有着良好的世界文学修养的新渡户博士，于此表明他自己是非常适合这一任务的。他是一个真正的解释者和调和人。他不需要，也不需要为他对他长久以来所忠诚的基督主的态度做出道歉。

## 导言

### Introduction

ted for a congenial task. He is a true interpreter and reconciler. He need not and does not apologise for his own attitude toward the Master whom he has long loyally followed. What scholar, familiar with the ways of the Spirit and with the history of the race as led by man's Infinite Friend, but must in all religions put difference between the teachings of the Founder and the original documents and the ethnic, rationalistic, and ecclesiastical additions and accretions? The doctrine of the testaments, hinted at in the author's preface, is the teaching of Him who came not to destroy, but to fulfil. Even in Japan, Christianity, unwrapped from its foreign mould and matting, will cease being an exotic and strike its roots deep in the soil on which Bushido has grown. Stripped alike of its swaddling bands and its foreign regimentals, the church of the Founder will be as native as the air.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIPPIS.

ITHACA, May, 1905.

熟悉神灵指引的道路和人类至高无上的朋友引导的人类历史学者，一定会在所有的宗教中，把宗教创立者的教义和原始文献与种族的、理性主义的和牧师的添加物区别开来，不是吗？如作者在序言中所提示的那样，各个宗教都拥有的旧约，基督的教导不是来破坏它的，而是来完善它的。甚至在日本，基督教也将抛却它外来的形式和修饰，而不再是一种外国情调，已然扎根于武士道曾经生长的土壤之中。解开束缚的绳索，脱去外国的服饰，基督教将会如空气一样化入这个国家的自然之中。

威廉·艾略特·格里皮斯

1905年5月，伊萨卡

## 第一版序

Preface To The First Edition

# PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

ABOUT ten years ago, while spending a few days under the hospitable roof of the distinguished Belgian jurist, the lamented M. de Laveleye, our conversation turned during one of our rambles, to the subject of religion. "Do you mean to say," asked the venerable professor, "that you have no religious instruction in your schools?" On my replying in the negative, he suddenly halted in astonishment, and in a voice which I shall not easily forget, he repeated "No religion! How do you impart moral education?" The question stunned me at the time. I could give no ready answer, for the moral precepts I learned in my childhood days were not given in schools; and not until I began to analyse the different elements

## 第一版序

大概十年前,著名的比利时法理学家、已故的 M·德拉维勒先生热情地接待了我,我在他那里盘桓数日,有一次散步,我们的话题落在了宗教上。“您的意思是说,在你们的学校里没有宗教教育吗?”这位我十分尊敬的教授问道。我的回答是否定的,他非常惊讶,并突然停下了脚步,而且以一种我难以忘怀的语气继续问道:“没有宗教!那你们是如何进行道德教育的呢?”当时,这一问题使我陷入了沉思。因为我没有现成的答案,我在孩童时代所学到的道德准则并不是学校

## 武士道

Bushido

that formed my notions of right and wrong, did I find that it was Bushido that breathed them into my nostrils.

The direct inception of this little book is due to the frequent queries put by my wife as to the reasons why such and such ideas and customs prevail in Japan.

In my attempts to give satisfactory replies to M. de Laveleye and to my wife, I found that without understanding feudalism and Bushido, the moral ideas of present Japan are a sealed volume.

Taking advantage of enforced idleness on account of long



武士：日本民族精神的象征

给予的；直到我开始对那些形成我的是非观念的不同成分进行分析，我才发现，是武士道把这些观念注入了我的心胸。

这本小书写作的直接动机，要归功于我妻子的经常提问：为什么这样的观念和习俗会在日本流行呢？

在我不断地试图给 M·德拉维勒先生和我的妻子一个满意的回答时，我发现，如果不首先理解封建制度和武士道（Bushido）<sup>(1)</sup>，那么现在日本流行的道德观念就依然是一个难以解答的谜。



illness, I put down in the order now presented to the public some of the answers given in our household conversation. They consist mainly of what I was taught and told in my youthful days, when feudalism was still in force.

Between Lafcadio Hearn and Mrs. Hugh Fraser on one side and Sir Ernest Satow and Professor Chamberlain on the other, it is indeed discouraging to write anything Japanese in English. The only advantage I have over them is that I can assume the attitude of a personal defendant, while these distinguished writers are at best solicitors and attorneys. I have often thought,—“Had I their gift of language, I would present the cause of Japan in more eloquent terms!” But one who speaks in a borrowed tongue should be thankful if he can just make himself intelligible.

All through the discourse I have tried to illustrate whatever points I have made with parallel examples from European history and literature, believing that these will aid in bringing the subject

恰好我有很长一段时间卧病在床,才得以有闲暇的时间,于是我决定把在我家中的一些谈话整理出来公之于众,作为解答。主要是一些我青少年时代所接受的概念,那个时候封建主义依然盛行。

一方面有拉夫卡迪欧·赫恩与休·弗拉泽夫人,另一方面有恩斯特·萨托爵士与张伯伦教授,在他们面前,我确实没有足够的勇气用英语来写一些关于日本的事情。与他们相比,我唯一的优点就是,我可以采取一种个人辩护者的姿态来写作,而这些声名卓著的作家们则是最好的律师。我常常想,“如果我有他们的语言天赋,我就能够以更为雄辩的言词来呈现日本的立场!”不过,一个用外来语言说话的人,他能够让别人听懂,那就已经应该是谢天谢地的了。

在整个叙述中,我一直试着从欧洲历史和文学中选取类似的例子来说明我的观点,因为我相信,这样更有利于帮助外国读者更为容