

## **Ninjô and the Affective Value of Literature at the Kogidô Academy**

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Recent scholarship in both Japanese and Western languages has, among other things, successfully debunked the notion that, in the first century of Tokugawa rule, an “orthodox” school of Ch’eng-Chu 程朱 Confucian thought enjoyed monopolistic patronage to the exclusion of other “heterodox” schools.<sup>1</sup> We are now well aware that in the seventeenth century, a plethora of schools, roughly divided along Confucian, Buddhist, and Shintô lines, competed for patronage (and usually coexisted) at the bakufu, domain, and even the urbanite (*chônin* 町人) levels. Even within the so-called “orthodox” school of Sung Studies that thrived in Edo, Kyoto, and at many castle towns, the founder, Fujiwara Seika 藤原惶窩, left behind a legacy, not only in the person of Hayashi Razan 林羅山 and his heirs in Edo, but of other Ch’eng-Chu schools, including those founded by Hori Kyôan 堀杏庵 in Owari and Kinoshita Jun’an 木下順庵 in Edo. Kyôan’s grandson, Hori Keizan 堀景山, corresponded at length in his youth with Ogyû Sorai 荻生徂徠, and in later life served as mentor to none other than Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長. Jun’an attracted and trained many talented individuals, including Arai Hakuseki 新井白石, Muro Kyûsô 室鳩巢, Amenomori Hôshû 雨森芳洲, and Gion Nankai 祇園南海.

Among other Confucian academies, Yamazaki Ansai’s 山崎闇齋 Kimon 崎門 school in Kyoto was highly successful, Nakae Chôju 中江藤樹 and his successor Kumazawa Banzan’s 熊沢蕃山 school of Wang Yang-ming 王陽明 studies (*J. Yômeigaku* 陽明学) thrived from its base in Ômi province, and Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 and his school provided yet another Confucian perspective from his base in Chikuzen province on Kyûshû, near sources of new texts and other ideas imported from China and Korea. Finally, Yamaga Sokô 山鹿素行 taught and wrote in Edo, until his eventual exile.

Despite the major disparities in the content of their teachings, pedagogically these schools shared much in common, stressing intensive study and rote memorization of the

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Yamashita has recently published a highly insightful review of English-language scholarship in early modern Japanese intellectual history that covers the major books published in the field since the early 1970s. The one regret I have with Yamashita’s review is that he failed to identify the connections between many North American intellectual historians and a limited number of Japanese who have, for one reason or another, provided a surprising degree of influence over English-language scholarship, irregardless of the degree to which that scholarship may claim inspiration from European criticism. See *Journal of Japanese Studies* (Spring 1996), pp. 1-28.

Confucian classics, particularly the Four Books. Literary works, especially narrative fiction, were denounced as unfit for inclusion into a curriculum designed to help men order their houses and, by extension, the state, and were generally ignored in these academies.

Chinese poetry, especially that of the Southern Sung, was generally considered worthy of appreciation, but then only after mastery of such “canonical” texts as the Four Books. Poetic composition, if attempted at all, tended to be stilted, and “poetically inspired” intellectuals (usually samurai) took separate lessons in *waka* and even *haikai*, under names appropriate for these avocations. Practitioners took part in these activities because they presumably could express themselves better using poetic Japanese, rather than Chinese, forms.

For seventeenth-century samurai, avoiding the literary (J. *bun* 文, Ch. *wen*) was an ideal, something to be sacrificed in favor of martial (J. *bu* 武, Ch. *wu*) values. Furthermore, a general fear existed that overindulgence in literary matters would stunt one’s moral growth as a potential leader over others.

Civil and martial (*bunbu* 文武) were viewed, not as opposites, however, but as two sides of the same coin. Conservative thinkers, such as Hayashi Razan (1583-1657), nevertheless posited *bun* in terms that sublimated it to the Tao, or the Confucian (and for Razan, samurai) Way.

When there is a Way, there is culture (*bun*); when there is no Way, there is no culture. Culture and the Way share the same principle (*ri* 理) and only differ in manifestation (*koto/ji* 事). The Way is the root (*hon* 本) of culture; culture is the periphery (*matsu* 末) of the Way. The extension is minor while the root is major. Therefore it is good and firm.

--Razan Hayashi sensei *bunshū* 林羅山先生文集: 66 (publ. 1662)<sup>2</sup>

This is an example of what the contemporary scholar Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦 terms *saidōsetsu* 載道説, or the position that literature must serve as a vehicle for the Tao, or a life of moral rectitude.<sup>3</sup>

Writers and scholars throughout the early modern period and into the modern have cast literature as best serving a second aim: *kanzen chōaku* 勸善懲惡, or “promoting the good and chastising evil,” a venerated tradition that is found in literary criticism worldwide, and even to recent American political attacks on the moral content of mass-market films, such as *Pulp Fiction* and *Natural Born Killers*. In many works, the figure of an “evil” character was portrayed as showing readers (and audiences in plays and oral tellings) how not to act in a particular situation.

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<sup>2</sup> In Matsuzaki Hitoshi 松崎仁, Shiraishi Teizō 白石悌三, and Taniwaki Masachika 谷脇理史, eds., (*Nenpyō shiryō*) *Kinsei bungaku shi* 年表資料近世文学史 (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1979 [2nd pr.]): 78.

<sup>3</sup> For Nakamura’s authoritative analysis of literary positions held by seventeenth-century Confucian scholars in Japan, see his “Bakusho Sōgakushatachi no bungakukan” 幕初宋学者達の文学観, in *Nakamura Yukihiko chojutsu shū* 中村幸彦著述集 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1982), 1: 7-30.

In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ch'eng-Chu Confucian discourse, however, some works of Japanese literature were condemned to the point that they fell even below any possibility of serving as an example of promoting good and chastising evil. These works existed in the minds of their critics in a realm beyond any edifying value that readers or audiences could gain as they learned of the evils wrought by villains as they met with ultimate destruction. Throughout most of the early modern period, especially after these texts appeared in woodblock form, the *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 and *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 were considered by many readers to be the ideal vehicles for vicariously reliving the elegance of the Heian court. For others, including Yamazaki Ansai, they were akin to the daytime confessional talk shows ubiquitous in today's popular culture.

The fact that people today will, in their frivolity (*tawabure* たはふれ), traverse down a road for which there is no return, is due to the existence of the *Genji* and the *Ise monogatari*. It is said that the *Genji* was written as an admonishment for men and women. It is extremely dubious, however, that such frivolity could serve to admonish anyone. Kiyohara no Nobukata 清原宣賢 asserted that, while the *Ise monogatari* dealt with matters of lust (*kôshoku* 好色), it also includes depictions of rites and of benevolence, and that Confucius or Mencius would have acted as Narihira had if they had been in his position. With regard to such falsehoods (*higagoto* ひがごと), it is not even worth one's breath to discuss their merits or failings!

—*Yamato shôgaku* 大和小学 (Japanese Lesser Learning, 1660), "Preface"<sup>4</sup>

Such denigration of literary expression was not the only perspective available to students of Confucian learning. Itô Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 began his career in Kyoto reading the Ch'eng and Chu Hsi 朱熹 commentaries to the classics, but by 1665 (at almost the same time, coincidentally, as that other founder of the "School of Ancient Learning [*Kogaku* 古学]", Yamaga Sokô), he came to the conclusion that Confucian truths were accessible only through direct philological analysis of the classics themselves, thereby avoiding the strong influence of the Sung interpretations.

Much of his doubt in the accuracy of Ch'eng-Chu teachings had to do with his view of the relationship between loftiness of tone and the general human condition. He states the following:

After all, poetry takes the common as good. The reason why the Three Hundred Verses (*Book of Songs*) is a Classic is because they are of the common. Poetry takes the singing out of one's inborn emotions (*hsing-ch'ing* 性情) as its origin. When it is common, thus does it well exhaust the emotions. When it is overly polished and excessive, it grinds down the inborn emotions and completely strips away one's true energies.

—"Afterword" to the *Hakushi monjû* 白氏文集 (Collected Works of Po Chü-  
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<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Nakamura, "Bakusho Sôgakushatachi no bungakukan," p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Included in Jinsai's posthumous anthology, *Kogaku sensei bunshû* 古学先生文集, compiled by Itô Tôgai 伊藤東涯. The "Afterword" is dated "Winter, Hôei 宝永 1 (1704)," or only a few

Jinsai relates the universality of such emotions to none other than the first compilation of song in the Chinese Confucian tradition, the *Book of Odes*. In other words, for Jinsai, the low or common (*zoku* 俗) is in tune with basic human emotions. The contrast between such sentiments and those proclaimed by Razan above, which attempt to delineate between the moral Way and literary subservience to it, could not be more striking.

In response to a question regarding the *Odes*, Jinsai makes the following important statement:

Question: Please provide a summary of the Five Classics.

(Response:) ...The *Shih* 詩 serve as guide to emotions and character/nature (*jōsei* 情性). Even though the number of people in the world is vast, and the ages of time have been endless, when you wish to inquire into the workings of the emotions, there is nothing that surpasses the three hundred songs (of the *Shih ching* 詩經). When you follow them things are ordered; when you reject them things are chaotic. This is why the Former Kings preserved them without damage, and cherished them without loss. It is due to the *Shih* that the Imperial Tombs and Sacred Shrines were well preserved for several centuries, and the descendants of defunct reigns continued to be counted among the guests of the ruler. Ignorance of the *Shih* means loss of the ability to order the realm and the state...

Furthermore, in ancient texts, people would quote *shih*, cutting them away from their original context, and then use them to apply an interpretation. This was the common manner by which the ancients made use of the *shih*. Those who would study the *Shih* should always keep this in mind.

--*Dōjimon* 童子問 ("Questions from Children," vol. 3:5, 1693, pub. 1707)<sup>6</sup>

Here the *Book of Odes* is revered as a classic, necessary for grasping the workings of the human psyche, in order better to govern both a household and a realm. We should further note here that Jinsai espouses a reader-response critical approach, in which reinterpretation of the content of the poems in the *Odes* is a natural outcome of changing needs over time. Such an expansive critical perspective allows him to avoid the pitfalls found in the rigid, moralistic views of literature prevalent during his time.

Jinsai thus elevates the study, interpretation, and recitation of the *Odes* to a level of centrality usually devoted to such works as the *Analects* (*Lunyü* 論語), the *Great Learning* (*Ta-hsüeh* 大學), or the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Chung-yung* 中庸). What is his position, though, on poetic composition as an act, as a form of human expression?

Question: For scholars to be fond of *shih* composition--is there or is there not any harm to the Way in this?

(Response:) *Shih* are the chanted expression of character/nature and the emotions. It is also truly beneficial to compose *shih*. There is no harm in not composing them

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months before Jinsai's death. See Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 and Shimizu Shigeru 清水茂, ed. and annot., *Itō Jinsai, Itō Tōgai* 伊藤仁斎伊藤東涯 (*Nihon shisō taikai* 日本思想体系, p. 33, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1971): Chinese text, p. 279, annotated translation into classical Japanese, p. 216. See also Matsuzaki, et al., *Kinsei*, p. 79.

<sup>6</sup> See Shimizu Shigeru, comp. and annot., *Dōjimon* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970), pp. 182, 183

either. The ancients taught people by means of the Six Accomplishments. This is extremely fascinating. When you do not partake in a diversion, then you will be unable to apply your talents fully. Neither will you be unable to understand people. In a medical text it says, "Take the five fruits as your supplement." However, if you eat too much, then it will harm you. *Shih* is the most elegant of the polite accomplishments, but if you become overly fond of it, then it will bring you harm. It is fine for recluses in the wooded mountains, who in their leisure have no pressing business, to vent their emotions, singing of their nostalgia. They can thus express their feelings of despondency and ennui. But for aristocrats, generals and ministers, scholars, officials, and others of position and office; if they once overindulge in *shih* composition, then their intent will grow wild and they will cause the downfall of their enterprise. Beware!

--*Dôjimon*, Vol. 3:39<sup>7</sup>

The upshot for Jinsai is that poetic composition is healthy, even necessary, to properly foster a leader's sensibilities. Problems occur for Jinsai, however, when an individual goes beyond prudent limits in focusing on poetic accomplishments to the exclusion of other equally important activities.

Jinsai's Kogidô, or "Hall of Ancient Meanings," academy was located just down the street and across from Yamazaki's Kimon ("Saki Gate") academy on Horikawa 堀川 Avenue in Kyoto. Nakamura Yukihiko quotes sources stating that the Kimon school atmosphere was strict and patriarchal, in which the master would lecture sternly on abstract issues of Confucian metaphysics, and in which there was little if any opportunity for students to question the bases of the metaphysical theories being explained. In contrast, at the Kogidô, students and professors alike were engaged in joint philological examinations of the texts themselves, and discussions of points of fact and their ramifications were common among students and instructors. (Such an atmosphere is, in fact, not unlike that existing for students of Chinese and Japanese literature at Kyoto University today!)

For a specific example of the range of topics discussed by students at the Kogidô, let us examine some comments found in Jinsai's second son, Itô Baiu's 伊藤梅宇, *Kenmon Dansô* 見聞談叢 ("A Thicket of Discussions about Things Heard and Seen," preface, 1737, autograph manuscript in the Kogidô Bunko 古義堂文庫 archive, Tenri Central Library). In this passage, Baiu refers to the *haikai* poet and founder of the narrative *ukiyo zôshi* 浮世草子 genre, Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴, and incidentally providing the sole identification of Saikaku as the Ôsaka urbanite, Hirayama Tôgo 平山藤五.

He possessed a deep appreciation (*yoku ajiwai* よくあじわひ) of social affairs: good and ill fortune, regret, hardship, and give and take. He was endowed from birth with a piercing insight into human emotions. Furthermore, it seems he followed a life course based not on Lao-Chuang 老莊 [teachings], but on some other approach.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See Shimizu, *Dôjimon*, pp. 232-33.

<sup>8</sup> See Kamei Nobuaki 亀井伸明, comp., *Kenmon dansô* (Iwanami bunko series, 2370-72, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1940): 243. Nakamura Yukihiko begins his important study of the

The most astounding element of this passage is that any member of an academy of Confucian studies would even mention the patently “vulgar” genre of popular fiction *ukiyo zōshi* in his writings. When we note that in Jinsai’s academy, Saikaku’s stories and novels are praised for their insight into the workings of the human emotions, then we know that we have discovered an atmosphere of study that is much more receptive to various influences than anything found in Hayashi Razan’s Rinke 林家 or Yamazaki Ansai’s Kimon (or Nangaku 南学) Confucian academies.

The following items are quotations from an extremely important but little-cited text, *Doku Shi yōryō* 読詩要領, or *Essentials for Reading the Shih ching*. This work was originally intended to serve at the first of a series of “Essentials” for each of the Five Classics (the *Songs*, *Changes*, *Spring & Autumn Annals*, *Documents of Shang*, and *Rites*), but the other four apparently were never completed. Itō Tōgai (1670-1736), Jinsai’s eldest son and second director of the *Kogidō*, left a manuscript of the text, which Tōgai’s third son and heir, Itō Tōsho 伊藤東所 (1730-1804), later copied and augmented with fuller references to Chinese referents. A separate copy of Tōgai’s text, located in the National Diet Library, was published in the *Nihon Jurin sōsho* 日本儒林叢書 series (*Kaisetsubu* 解説部, vol. 1) in 1929. Both the Tōgai manuscript and the Tōsho augmented copy are well-worn, providing evidence that both texts were used in the course of lectures and studies of the Chinese classics, especially the *Shih ching*. In 1991 Shimizu Shigeru included the Tōsho text in volume 65 of the *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 新日本古典文学体系 (SNKBT) series (volume entitled, *Nihon shi shi, Gozandō shiwa* 日本詩史五山堂詩話, translated, edited, and annotated by Shimizu, Ibi Takashi 揖斐高, and Ôtani Masao 大谷雅夫, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten).

The first quotation explicitly relates the poems found in the *Shih ching* with Confucian ethics. By claiming that the poems exist as candid, unadulterated examples of human emotion, the text promises that such honesty will prove to continue to be in accord with Confucius’s (as well as Mencius’s) teachings.

The Master said, “The *Shih* are three hundred in number. They can be covered in one phrase, ‘Thoughts devoid of corruption.’”<sup>9</sup> This section was the clearest for Confucius to explain the nature of the *Shih*. The word *shih* refers to the candid (*ariyō ni* ありやうに) expression of what people feel in their hearts. When we peruse the language of the three hundred verses, we find in praise of the wise the sentiment to “offer... a fine black robe,”<sup>10</sup> or in hatred of scoundrels the sentiment to “throw them to the jackals and tigers.”<sup>11</sup> There are celebrations of the virtues of the Sages, laments

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relationships between literature and human emotions with this quote. See Nakamura, “Bungaku wa ‘ninjō o iu’ no setsu” 文学は人情を道うの説, in *Nakamura Yukihiko chojutsu shū* I: 49-79, quotation on p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> *Lun yü*, Bk. 1 Ch. 2 (D. C. Lau Penguin translation, p. 63). The quoted passage from the *Shih ching* is Mao version #297, Waley translation #252.

<sup>10</sup> *Shih ching*, “Cheng feng” (Mao #75, Waley #11). The two parts of the phrase are disconnected in the original.

<sup>11</sup> *Shih ching*, “Lesser Ya” 小雅 (Mao #200, Waley #282). The reading of these two verses as examples of praise and scorn goes as far back as the *Li chi*, and was fully conventionalized in the

about the practices in ages of chaos, and sentiments of indebtedness from son to father, from brother to brother. There is variation in the circumstances of each verse, but in every case we find the candid expression in words of what people feel in their hearts. This is why Confucius declared, "They can be covered (*pi* 蔽) in one phrase, 'Thoughts devoid of corruption.'" The word "*pi*" means "lid," as in when you cover a container. This single phrase serves to envelop all three hundred of the *shih*. Those who are human innocently and candidly speak of matters as they really are. Confucius often said, "Make self-respect and honesty your mainstays."<sup>12</sup> He also said, "These common people are the touchstone by which the Three Dynasties were kept to the straight path."<sup>13</sup> In the *Mencius* it is also written, "Those who reflect upon sincerity are on Heaven's Way."<sup>14</sup> These all refer to the same notion.<sup>15</sup>

The next passage identifies the famous touchstone upon which Kogidô poetics have been based. As Nakamura Yukihiro has analyzed at length,<sup>16</sup> Jinsai's, Tôgai's, and later Tôsho's views allow the *Shih ching* to represent poetry in general, and, as we noted above regarding Saikaku's reception within the Kogidô, such views may extend to literary activity in general.

In a chapter of the *Chuang-tzu* it says in a discussion of the Five Classics, "The *Shih* serve as guide to human emotions."<sup>17</sup> In the *Yang-tzu fa-yen* 揚子法言, "Kua-chien p'ien 寡見篇"<sup>18</sup> it further says, "There is nothing more explicit for expressing intent than *shih*." Both of these statements carry the same argument, that the *Shih* gives voice to each and every intent and provides the full spectrum of human emotions (*ninjô o tsukushitaru sho* 人情をつくしたる書). The *Chuang-tzu* is a heterodox [i.e., non-

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tradition. For example, in the widely circulated Japanese version of Chu Hsi's *Shih chi-chuan* 詩集伝, the *Shikyô jimô kukai* 詩経示蒙句解, Jinsai's contemporary Nakamura Tekisai 中村惕斎 (1629-1702) comments on this verse as follows: "The *shih*, 'Fine Black Robe' in the 'Cheng-feng,' is one of praise to a wise person, while this *shih*, 'Palace Attendant,' is of scorn for a slanderer. This is why it says in the *Li chi*, 'We praise the wise as in the Fine Black Robe, and we scorn evil as in the Palace Attendant.'" See (*Senken icho*) *Kanseki kokujikai zensho* 先哲遺著漢籍国字解全書 series (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 1926), 5: 323.

<sup>12</sup> *Lun yü*, Bk. 1, Ch. 1 (Lau, p. 60); Bk. 5, Ch. 9 (Lau, p. 99), Bk. 6, Ch. 12 (Lau, p. 114). "*Chu chung hsin* 主忠信." Lau translates this terse phrase as: "Make it your guiding principle to do your best for others and to be trustworthy in what you say."

<sup>13</sup> *Lun yü*, Bk. 8, Ch. 15 (Lau, p. 135).

<sup>14</sup> *Meng tzu*, Bk. 7 (D. C. Lau Penguin translation, p. 123). Tôgai's citation is actually a combination of two adjacent phrases. Lau translates, "Being true is the Way of Heaven; to reflect upon this is the Way of man."

<sup>15</sup> Shimizu Shigeru, ed. and annot., *Doku Shi yôryô*, in SNKBT 65: 10-11.

<sup>16</sup> "Bungaku wa 'Ninjô wo iu' no setsu;" see note 8 above.

<sup>17</sup> *Chuang tzu*, Chapter 33, "T'ien-hsia" 天下 contains the following passage: "The *Songs* serve as guides to the intent." A. C. Graham, trans., *Chuang-tzu: The Inner Chapters*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981, pb. 1986), p. 275. Jinsai's famous declaration, "guides to human emotions," is in fact based on an inaccurate citation.

<sup>18</sup> (Master Yang's Legalist Sayings), by Yang Hsiung 揚雄 (53 bce-18 ce).

Confucian] text, but the above statement aptly describes the Way of *shih* (*shi no michi* 詩の道), and has been quoted regularly since the former Confucian scholars. Many words have been written on *shih*, but the phrase “serves as guide to human emotions” summarizes it succinctly.

There are cases in public matters by which, if you apply the situation at hand to surface measures of laws and propriety, there is no denying your actions. However, when you examine the situation from within, you find that circumstances can conspire to force you to break the law, commit a transgression, and thereby suffer the censure of those around you.<sup>19</sup> If you fail to grasp this, then in your association with people in society and in your execution of administrative matters, you will be too rigid and you will be unable to gain entry to people’s spirits.<sup>20</sup>

In other words, nothing serves as well as the composition and appreciation of poetry, starting with the *Shih ching*, to provide the individual with insight into the human condition. The fact that “intent” in the original *Chuang-tzu* quote has been replaced with “human emotions” tells us two things about Jinsai and Kogidô poetics. First, Jinsai was not averse to quoting a Taoist text like the *Chuang-tzu*, which would have been ignored, or even scorned by more conservative Confucians. Second, whether consciously or not, Jinsai preferred to believe that the *Chuang-tzu* also supported the notion that poetry not only took human emotions as its source, but, conversely, provide a guide to understanding human emotions in their myriad diversity. The interest in both philosophical Taoism and in literary activity among Confucian scholars, particularly in Ogyû Sorai’s school in Edo in the Kyôhō 享保 era (1720s) and beyond, clearly bears a debt to such positions within the Kogidô in the Genroku 元禄 era (1690s).

Our final quote from *Essentials* tackles the issue of licentiousness, which also brings us back to our starting point and the Confucian denunciations of the *Genji* and the *Ise* in the seventeenth century. The Kogidô scholars of course reject the didactic critique, and instead promote an attitude of acceptance on the part of the reader for the poems as honest expressions of human feelings.

Among the *shih* of Cheng 鄭 and Wei 衛, many are licentious.<sup>21</sup> It is exclusively these that former Confucian scholars singled out as examples of “chastising vice.” However, these would serve as a admonishment for later ages if, as in the *Ch’un ch’iu* 春秋, the names of the period, the people, and the place of the transgression were explicitly noted. There is no way for the casual statement of a transgression, in the absence of any specification of what age or who was involved, to serve as an

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<sup>19</sup> It is tempting to speculate that Tôgai might have had in mind here the 1684 incident in which the bakufu *wakadoshiyori* 若年寄 Inaba Iwami no kami Masayasu 稲葉石見守正休 assassinated the *tairô* 大老 Hotta Chikuzen no kami Masatoshi 堀田筑前守正俊. Masayasu, who was himself killed in this incident, had the previous year requested and received a copy of Jinsai’s *Go Mô jigi* 語孟字義. The more recent Akô rôshi 赤穂浪士 vendetta of 1702 also prompted widespread comment on the relationship between feudal loyalty and adherence to written law, and may indeed have contributed to Tôgai’s concern.

<sup>20</sup> Shimizu, *Doku Shi*: 16-17.

<sup>21</sup> Such suggestive courtship *shih* also include those of Pei and Yung. (Shimizu, p. 17, note 3).



admonishment for people of later ages. The *shih* of Cheng and Wei are invitations to courtship between men and women. Such courtship occurs all the time among people in the villages and the fields. Such transgressions are not even serious enough to warrant a stern admonishment. In these *shih* there is no trace of heinous acts against benevolence or righteousness, such as regicide, killing one's own father, or murdering a man to abscond with his wife. We do find *shih* compositions on treacherous or lustful acts, such as those about Yu and Li of Chou, Duke Hsiang of Ch'i, and Duke Hsüan of Wei,<sup>22</sup> but these are *shih* censuring well-known people of the time; they are not confessions by the culprits themselves. In considering all the evidence, it is clear that the notion of "chastising vice" is not in accord with the character of the *Shih*.<sup>23</sup>

We may safely conclude from the above collection of statements that the Kogidô in its Confucian teachings fostered a profound appreciation of the human condition. Furthermore, such an empathetic appreciation could only be possible through reading the most distilled examples of human emotion, poetry, beginning with the *Shih ching*, believed to have been compiled by Confucius himself. When the reader recognizes that the poem or song originates in the heart or mind, he or she can then both acknowledge the particular emotional state found in the poem, as well as similar states that might occur in his or her own life experience. Such understanding is essential to wise administration among those in positions of responsibility, regardless of whether such responsibility is over a household, or over a domain.

From these quotations, we can identify those elements that drew the young Ogyû Sorai to write to Jinsai, and it is not too much of a stretch to identify sources of Hori Keizan's teachings to the young Motoori Norinaga as he studied in Kyoto in the 1750s. Norinaga's insistent defense, even of illicit love affairs that could potentially affect the course of a country's history as they are found in the *Genji monogatari*, clearly did not arise from an intellectual vacuum.

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<sup>22</sup> The Lesser Prefaces to various songs in the *Shih ching* identify them as examples of censure of the kings and dukes cited. For King Yu of Chou: Mao #191, 264, and 265 (Waley #291, 304, and 305); King Li of Chou: Mao #253 (Waley #300); Duke Hsiang of Ch'i: Mao #101, 102, 103, 105 (Waley #71, 47, 258, and 70); and Duke Hsüan of Wei: Mao #32, 34, 43, 44, and 58 (Waley #78, 54, 77, 33, and 104). Waley omits the first four songs listed above, well known over the history of *Shih ching* exegesis for their strong political tone, from his translation, which stressed the pastoral nature of the original songs.

<sup>23</sup> Shimizu, *Doku Shi*: 18-19.