

PROVISIONAL TRANSLATION

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Only significant errors of English in the translation have been corrected—the content will be checked against the original Japanese for accuracy at a later date.

Scholarship and Thought about the Sacred City of Ise in Early-Modern Japan

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The Grand Shrine of Ise, or Jingū, was greatly revered by common people in the Edo period, and as the practice of *okage mairi* (mass pilgrimages to Jingū) indicates, many people visited the sacred city of Shinto, Ise City in Mie Prefecture. Ise was both the central place of faith and leading center of scholarship and intellectual thoughts. This book focuses on selected scholars closely relating to Ise including priests who served at Jingū, traces their scholarly works that blossomed, and examines their important roles in the history of literary attainments in Japan.

The Development of Academic Thought at Gekū (the Outer Shrine of Jingū)

Watarai Nobuyoshi

At first, academic activities that occurred around Gekū during the early Edo period will be introduced. It was Deguchi (Watarai) Nobuyoshi (1615-90) who not only contributed to the efflorescence of the sacred city but also paved the way for flourishing of Shinto studies. He was first named as Nobuyoshi (the second Chinese character is different from his name), took Shinano as his given name, and Chokuan as his sobriquet. He and his father, Nobutada, became *gonnagi*, or assistant priests, of Gekū at the age of six. Nobuyoshi enjoyed studying since he was young and wrote many books such as *Yōbukuki*, *DaiJingūshintōwakumon*, *Jingūhidenmondō*, *IsedaiJingūshiniki*, *Jindaikankōjutsushō*, etc. Among these, Nobuyoshi's main work is the *Yōbukuki*, consisting of two volumes. He wrote it in 1650 when he was thirty-six years old as a survey of Shinto studies describing his thoughts in a systematic way. “Yōbuku” of the title means “ichiyōraifuku” (return of spring) and was given as the title because the book was written in November of the Japanese old calendar, when it gets warmer after the winter solstice. Later, it was submitted for Emperor Go-Kōmyō's inspection.

In this book, Nobuyoshi states:

Shinto is intertwined with any daily activities, and there is no exception to it. When the sovereign the country based on Shinto, he is a benevolent ruler. When his subjects serve the sovereign based on Shinto, they are the loyal subjects. When a father nurtures his child based on Shinto, he is an affectionate father. When a child assists his parents based on Shinto, he is a filial child. It is advisable that relationships of a couple, brothers, and friends

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should be based on Shinto. Besides, Shinto is found in an action of eating and drinking. It is not the case that Shinto is not related to an action of raising a hand. If Shinto were limited to activities of reading books on kami, remembering the names of kami, clapping one's hands in prayer, and reciting Shinto prayers, then Shinto would be a narrower path than farming, medicine, and divination. (The Second Volume of *Yōbukuki*)

In other words, Nobuyoshi explains that Shinto is not a special path that only priests who clap his hands in prayer and recite Shinto prayers can follow but exists in ordinary people's daily life and should be a universal path for human beings to follow. He also states the correspondence of Shinto teachings and a path valued by Confucianism that sovereign and subject, father and son, husband and wife, brothers, and friends should follow.

Similarly, the beginning of *Daijīngūshintōwakumon* states:

It is wrong for people today to think that Shinto is a path for only priests and that even if they understand it, it is not useful for them. Shinto is a path that should be followed by those who were born in Japan. However, while a path introduced by overseas is revered, it is such a pity no one practices Shinto except priests.

He also states that “Shinto is a path of daily life which is practiced by everyone from the sovereign to ordinary people.” This shows that a way of living of the Japanese people is Shinto, which is the main point that Nobuyoshi emphasized most.

Furthermore, *Yōbukuki* states:

If one makes one's heart like a mirror, one's heart will be the same as that of Amenominakanushi or Amaterasu Ōmikami....As it is said that a heart is like a residence of kami, kami can stay in people's heart. However, a dark heart is like a residence with closed doors and a mirror with rust. You should open the doors of kami's residence and remove the rust of the mirror.

“A heart is like a residence of kami” is a phrase appearing in texts of Ise Shinto, and Nobuyoshi interpreted one's heart and soul as part of spirit of kami given from kami; thus, he explained that keeping one's heart and soul pure and achieving the same state of mind as the heavenly kami is a Shinto way of cultivating one's mind. While this overlaps with teachings of classic Confucian writings or *The Great Learning* that one should clarify one's inner virtue, it marks the features of Nobuyoshi's ideas as a leading figure of Shinto theories of modern period in a respect of morally recapturing the value of “purity” and “honesty” highly regarded by Ise Shinto since the medieval period.

As shown above, Confucian thoughts obviously influenced Nobuyoshi's ideas. On the other hand, Nobuyoshi strongly criticized Buddhism. In short, Nobuyoshi formed an appropriate Shinto theory of the early modern period by reinterpreting thought of Ise Shinto in a Confucian way and removing Buddhist aspects from conventional thoughts of Ise Shinto which had contained Buddhist elements. His ideas made a great impact on later thoughts of Shinto starting with Suika Shinto (fusion of Shinto with Chinese elements).

This theory of Ise Shinto of the Edo period centering on Nobuyoshi is called “Ise Shinto of the later period” in contrast with Ise Shinto of the early period during the Kamakura period. Besides, Nobuyoshi contributed to the study of classical Shinto texts. Writings of Ise Shinto of the early period, which are especially regarded as important are called *Gobusho* (five-volume apologia); they

are *Hōkihongi*, *Yamatohime-no-mikoto seiki*, *Gochinzahongi*, *Gochinzadenki*, and *Gochinzashidaiki*. Among them, *Yamatohime-no-mikoto seiki* was missing during the Edo period even in Ise. Nobuyoshi attempted to find it and finally discovered the copy of it which had been passed down to Kyoto.

Furthermore, Nobuyoshi published *Gōtōkojiki* in his later life in 1687 at the age of seventy-three. Although *Kojiki* is a classical text that anyone knows today, it did not spread yet at the beginning of the Edo period; thus, it was hardly studied. The *Kojiki* was first published in 1644, but it has many mistakes. Because of this, by using the *Kojiki* of 1644 as the original source, Nobuyoshi collated it with other variant manuscripts which were available at that time, put guiding marks for Japanese rendering, used many literary sources as references, and provided match-ups and explanatory notes as headnotes. It can be said that *Gōtōkojiki* is the first edition with full-scale proofreading and annotations, and many part of the text have been used as a reference to this day. Its demonstrative contents opened a door toward the study of classic texts of the new era and initiated the study of the *Kojiki* of the later period. It also greatly influenced Moto'ori Norinaga. Besides *Gōtōkojiki*, Nobuyoshi also revised one of the important classical texts of Shinto, *Sendaikujihongi* and published *Gōtōkujigi*.

Yamazaki Ansai, who promoted Suika Shinto and is introduced later in this book, learned the theory of Ise Shinto starting with a purification ceremony of the style of Ise Shinto; thus, Nobuyoshi greatly contributed to the development of the thoughts of Shinto of the early modern period. On the other hand, Nobuyoshi severely criticized the Shinto theory of Yoshida Shinto which was dominant at that time. He sharply criticized that its founder Yoshida Kanetomo asserted that the object enshrined in Jingū flew away to Kyoto and wrote a book titled *Shinteki Yoshida Kanetomo Boukeiki* (The record of conspiracy of the enemy of kami Yoshida Kanetomo). Nobuyoshi passed away in 1690 at the age of seventy-six. His cemetery is located in the graveyard called Icchobō in Iwabuchi of Ise. (note that the present tombstone was rebuilt in 1919).

The foundation of Toyomiyazaki bunko (Toyomiyazaki Library)

The foundation of Toyomiyazaki bunko was Nobuyoshi's greatest contribution. Since the ancient times, there were two libraries at Jingū: Bunden at Naikū since the Nara period and Shinko at Gekū since before the Kamakura period. Both libraries housed texts and manuscripts related to Naikū and Gekū. However, Jingū declined during the Muromachi period, and especially due to the dispute called Uji Yamada kassen, which occurred at the end of the fifteenth century, most of the collection of books were lost. Nobuyoshi was deeply concerned about this situation and decided to establish a library in order to “collect sacred texts, ancient records, and Japanese and Chinese books for the sake of Jingū, reserve them for future generations, and encourage other people to study them (*Isedaijingūshiniki*).” During the years of 1644–47, Nobuyoshi collected dispersed texts related to Jingū, copied and collated them. He also found people who supported him such as priests of Gekū, Yomura Hiromasa and Iwade Suekiyo, and raised a fund as an originator by getting seventy advocates in total. Furthermore, with the support from *Jingū saishu* (the head chief priest of Jingū) Kawabe Sadanaga, *Daigūji* (the major chief priest) Kawabe Kiyonaga, and townspeople of Yamada, Nobuyoshi created “bunko reijou (rules of library)” in June 1648 regarding management of the library, purchases of books, copy, and airing of books. In November of the same year, he began to establish the facility and building of the library in the land of Toyomiyazaki next to Gekū (present address: 3 Okamotochō, Ise), and the library was completed on the 28th of December of the same year and named as “Toyomiyazaki bunko” by taking the place name. Nobuyoshi was thirty-four years old. In celebrating the completion of the library, Hayashi Razan, who served the Edo bakufu and was Confucian, donated *Shunjūsenden* with his sentences about the

origin of the library titled “Ise bunko ni daisu.” Eventually, Nobuyoshi, Hiromasa, and Suekiyo were given official ranks and titles by Emperor Go-Kōmyō in celebration of their achievement.

The central buildings of the library were a lecture hall and a stack room. Besides, a small shrine of Tenjin was built where Sugawara no Michizane was enshrined. Chinese poems, Japanese tanka poems, and linked poems were offered there. Later, a small shrine where Nobuyoshi’s spirit was to be enshrined was built. Bunko was managed by the fund contributed by members called sekichū, and the Edo Bakufu donated to the library the 20-koku field via *bugyō* of Yamada Yagi Munenao. Regarding to books of the library, not only the members but also non-members were allowed to access to them. The library received books donated by many people including court nobles, feudal lords, and scholars; thus, the collections of books got gradually large.

At a lecture hall, lectures of the Shinto scriptures and Confucian texts were conducted by invited lectures and scholars who visited the library on a fixed date of every month. Invited scholars were Kaibara Ekiken, Itō Tōgai, Muro Kyūsō, Ooshio Chūsai (Heihachirō), and so on. Thus, Toyomiyazaki bunko played a central role for culture and education of Ise and largely contributed to the development of academic studies and culture. The library was sustained throughout the Edo period and ended its role in the first year of the Meiji period. Its collections were handed down to the present library called Jingū bunko. At the time of closing it, it is said that Toyomiyazaki bunko housed more than 20,000 books.

The facility and building of the library remained after the closure, which was used as the school building of “Miyazaki gogakkō.” Ozaki Yukio who is famous as “a god of the Constitution” also graduated from this school. However, due to the fire of 1879, the hall of lecture was burned down, and today a guest room, a stack room, Nobuyoshi’s small shrine, a gate and walls remain. In spring, the site of the library was colored by cherry blossoms called “oyane zakura.” It is said that the original cherry tree of these cherry trees was a nursery tree appearing on the roof of Nobuyoshi’s house (Present location: back of the city hall of Ise).

The development of Nobuyoshi’s academic lineage

The following section deals with the ways in which Nobuyoshi’s academic thoughts were passed down. First, we start with Nobuyoshi’s son Deguchi Nobutsune (1657-1714). Nobutsune became an assistant senior priest of Gekū after following his father’s occupation and gained the rank and title of Shōshi’ige. His outstanding achievements include *Jinmyōchōkōshō* which considers the shrines of the entire country listed in the *Engishiki* of the Heian period, *Shinjizuihitsu* which summarizes Shinto rituals and historical sources of Jingū including *hachidohai* (bowing one’s head eight times in respect of worship), etc. Like his father, Nobutsune also wrote a book to criticize Yoshida Shinto titled *Benbokushō* (“boku” means “the Urabe clan” and the original name of the Yoshida family).

Next, some priests who were also scholars related to Nobuyoshi are introduced. Nakanishi Nobuyoshi (1631-99) followed the academic lineage of Deguchi Nobuyoshi. He extensively wrote commentaries of *Shintōgobusho* and created waka poems well. His collection of waka poetry *Gueisōkō* contains more than four thousand poems, and he had more than two hundred forty students. He also interacted with Keichū who was famous as a scholar of *kokugaku* and visited him while Keichū had a secluded life at Enjuan in Osaka. His main book is *Daijingūzōseiwakumon*. Nakanishi Naokata (1634-1709) is one of those who followed the academic lineage of Deguchi Nobuyoshi. He was involved in the dispute with Naikū regarding the title of amulets of purification for which Gekū used part of the title of Naikū, and Naikū ended up suing Gekū. Gekū lost, and Naokata was punished and had to go into exile. After wandering through some lands, he lived in Sada of Tamaru (present location: Tamaki of Watarai in Mie prefecture) and passed away there. He had a life of

turmoil, but Naokata never changed his belief in the concept of *Nikūikkō* based on *Shintō gobusho* (a five-volume apologia of Shinto), which means that both Naikū and Gekū have equal divine virtue and the unity of the two promotes the power of gods. He wrote many books about his unique ideas about the exclusion of Buddha and training of mind. Especially, in *Shintōanshinmonogatari* and *Shidōhyakushu*, he explains the Shinto view of life and death which takes the place of Buddhism and asserts that after death, neither paradise nor hell exists, and a man comes from kami and returns to kami.

Kawasaki Nobusada (1634-1709) was an assistant senior priest of Gekū and his *gō* (pen name) was Seika. After studying also in Edo and Kyoto, he drafted *Saikanshiki* (the ritual procedures and rules) to correct the disturbance of regulations. He also got involved in compilation of *Kanbunsengūki*. In his last book titled *Hōeijūjō*, Nobusada asserted the dignity of Gekū by presenting ten reasons including the theories of “ryōkū gomeigi setsu” and “Nikūikkō” in terms of the dispute with Naikū at the time of Sengū or the renewal ceremony of the Hōei era. Also, in the same book, he advocated the value of *Shintō gobusho*, whereas a priest of Naikū Inomo Morikazu wrote *Shinryakuki* to criticize it. Started by this, the argument about *Shintō gobusho* became active, and a Shintoist of Owari Yoshimi Yukikazu’s *Gobusho setsu ben* appeared. After this, the argument about the enshrined deities of Naikū and Gekū prolonged, and although Moto’ori Norinaga wrote *Nikū sakidake no ben* to reconcile it, the dispute was not resolved until the Meiji period.

Among generations of disciples who learned from Nobuyoshi’s original disciples, studies of priests of Gekū continued to be active. In 1712, priests of Gekū organized a society for research. Its regular meeting was named as “Junichikōkai” because it was held once every ten days. Its central figures were Kiso Kiyōari, Oda (Tachibana) Naritsugu, and Matsuki Tomohiko; there were more than eighty members. In this society, various topics of Shinto were researched and discussed, which resulted in many books written by them shown as follows. Kiso Kiyōari (1682-1736) served at Takanomiya of Gekū as *tamagushi-uchindo* and learned Confucianism from Itō Koan and Shinto from Nobuyoshi’s disciple Kurose Masuhiro. He wrote many books including *Shinkyōbenmōshō*, *Majjimon*, and *Irokandan*. In *Nihonshokikōjutsushō*, Kiyōari provided commentaries for the entire thirty volumes of *Nihonshoki*, and such commentaries were available since *Shakunihongi* of the Kamakura period.

Kiyōari also interacted with Itō Tōgai, and in 1711 when the Korean Emissary came to Japan, he and Tōgai exchanged poems with the Emissary. Oda Naritsugu (1660-1716) was a secretary of the family of *daigūji* and followed the academic lineage of Nobuyoshi. He created the unique theory by using charts based on the ying-yang theory and wrote many books including *Ōyashimazusetsu*, *Amatsutsumizusetsu*, and *Isenigūisshaden*. Naritsugu played a central role at the meetings of Junichikōkai and was a leading figure of academic studies at Gekū from the Genroku to Shōtoku eras.

Kushimoto Tsuneakira (1674-1752) was a son of Kawasaki Nobusada and became an adopted son of Kushimoto Tsugihiko. He was an assistant senior priest of Gekū. His many books include *Shintōmeiben*, *Shinminsuchi*, *Nihonkokufū*, etc. He wrote *Shintōmeiben* to make a counterargument against *Bendōsho* that criticized Shinto, written by Dazai Shundai, a Confucian scholar of the school of Ogyū Sorai. In *Shintōmeiben*, Tsuneakira strongly criticized the trend among people valuing Confucianism and forgetting Shinto, which is a native Japanese path, and asserted *saisei i’itsu* (the unity of Shinto rituals and politics) as the Japanese way of being. This book became an opener of the argument, so-called *kokujuronsō* (the argument about an interpretation of “path” between Shintoists and Confucians).

The hereditary occupation of Tsuneakira’s family was to serve at Gekū as a senior priest, but he declined an offer to become a senior priest, saying that “without climbing a mountain, I enjoy

drinking spring water at the foot of the mountain.” For, a senior priest was not allowed to go beyond the Miyagawa river, which would prevent him from studying as he would like. Thus, Tsuneakira devoted himself to studies throughout his life.

There was a scholar who was a contemporary of Nobuyoshi and expressed his own unique thoughts, which were different from Nobuyoshi and others. This scholar was Ryū Hirochika (1616-93). His pen name was Shōsha, and he was born into the family of priests of Gekū and learned both Shinto and Buddhist texts. His main books include *Shinkokuketsugiron*, *Jindaikanhyōchū*, *Jindaiyōketsu*, and so forth. *Shinkokuketsugiron* shows Hirochika’s standpoint of exploring deep meanings of Shinto through Buddhist texts, i.e., *shinbutsufugō*. Based on their reading of one Chinese character, priests of Jingū interpreted Amaterasu Ōmikami’s oracle of Yamatohime no Mikotoseiki regarding Buddhism that Shinto and Buddhism should be separated from each other; Deguchi Nobuyoshi also interpreted it in the same way. By contrast, Hirochika differently read the same Chinese character, based on which he interpreted the same passage that things associated with Buddhism should be hidden at Shinto rituals in order to concentrate on serving Kami, but this did not mean the denial of Buddhism. Hirochika’s view can be understood as the continuity of thoughts of Ise Shinto of the medieval era in contrast with thoughts of Shinto during the early modern era characterized by rejection of Buddhism.

In 1688, Matsuo Bashō, who visited to Jingū, went to see Hirochika for whom he made a haiku poem: “Let me ask how a plant of reed is called here” (*Oi no kobumi*) with the title of “ryūshōsha.” Bashō created this poem by taking a famous poem of *Tsukubashū* into account, the collection of *renga* during the period of Northern and Southern Courts: “The name of reed changes depending on place; the reed of Naniwa is called *hamaogi* in Ise. It can be understood that Bashō’s poem was for expressing his respect to Hirochika.

Behind these studies, we should realize the existence of the book store that supported the academic studies of priests of Gekū: Kōkodō book store run by Fujiwara Chōbei. It was in Yamadaichishichō, and Chōbei originally served as *onshi* of Gekū and named himself “Isshi Fujiwara Tayū.” It seems that he began to also run the business of publication around when Watarai Nobuyoshi was active at Gekū. Since then, the name of Fujiwara Chōbei continued over generations until before the Meiji period. This Kōkodō specialized in publication for Gekū, and most of all books written by priests of Gekū starting with Nobuyoshi were published by it.

The Development of Academic Thought at Naikū

The influence of Suika Shinto

Compared with Gekū, which produced many scholars beginning with Deguchi Nobuyoshi, Naikū was slightly behind. However, since the mid-Edo period, academic activities around Naikū became active. It was the theory of Suika Shinto that influenced such trend. Suika Shinto became the main Shinto ideas during the early Edo period. These Shinto ideas were asserted by Yamazaki Ansai (1618-82). He was at first a zen monk, but he left zen and supported Confucianism. While Ansai became a leading scholar of Confucianism, he was also very familiar with Shinto. Ansai learned the theories of Ise Shinto from Deguchi Nobuyoshi and Daigūji of Ise Jingū Kawabe Kiyonaga and the theory of Yoshida Shinto from Yoshikawa Koretari. Ansai established his own Shinto ideas by putting other scholars’ theories of Shinto.

The theory of Suika Shinto became elaborate by Ansai’s disciples. Its central idea is that a path is what Amaterasu Ōmikami showed as a way for the emperor to govern; teachings are the teachings of Sarutahiko (kami who lead the way of Amaterasu Ōmikami’s grandson’s descent to

earth); both emperor and his subject should realize the ideal path (the unity of the emperor and his subject; the fundamental path) together. This is close to the moral idea of Confucianism like Deguchi Nobuyoshi, but the fact that Suika Shinto supported the Imperial Household as the fundamental core of Shinto made Suika Shinto the source of *sonnō shisō* (the thought of the reverence for the Emperor) leading to the Meiji Restoration in the end.

It can be thought that Suika Shinto was introduced to Ise around the Genroku and Kyōhō periods, and Kiso Kiyōari's *Nihonshokikōjutsushō* cites the theories of Ansai's disciples Tani Jinzan and Matsuoka Joan, which show the influence of Suika Shinto on the studies of the priests of Gekū. Gekū, which had both the tradition of Ise Shinto since the Kamakura period and Deguchi Nobuyoshi's foundation of academic theories, did not have much necessity to adapt new thoughts about Shinto. By contrast, Naikū was a little behind to establish thoughts about Shinto; thus, the priests of Naikū might be more active than those of Gekū in terms of acceptance of Suika Shinto.

It was Happa Mitsumasa (1699-1773) who greatly contributed to the introduction of Suika Shinto at Naikū. He was called Oribe, Takumi, or Sakyō, and his pen name was Yokusai and Itsuhoko'ō. He was a son of Ōta Nagayoshi from Nagasaki and became an adopted son of a priest of Naikū Happa Mitsunao by his request. Mitsumasa served at Naikū and learned Shinto from Ansai's disciple's disciple Tamaki Isai, who followed the lineage of Suika Shinto. Jingū bunko library houses many texts of Shinto that Mitsumasa copied, which shows how devoted he was to studies. Takabayashi Suemitsu (dates of his birth and death are unknown; approximately around the Hōreki and Bunsei periods) called himself Toneri, and his pen names were Kinkō, Isai, or Ryōjō. He learned at Matsuoka Joan. Suemitsu was a vassal of Senshūji Temple of Ishinden, but for some reason, he left there and taught his disciples at a school called Kawarakōkan, built at the bank of the Isuzu river. It seems that he mainly taught Confucianism, but as there was a record that he copied Suika Shinto's hidden book *Gyokusenshū* compiled by Tamaki Isai and that lectured the texts of Shinto such as the volume of the ages of kami of *Nihonshoki*, he seemed to have learned Suika Shinto. Nakagawa Tsunetada, who is introduced later in this book, also learned both Confucianism and Shinto from Suemitsu with other priests of Naikū when he was young. Additionally, this is not directly related to Naikū or Gekū, but Sawada Rokumei, from present-day Seta of Ise, also learned from Nishiyori Seisai, who belonged to the academic lineage of Ansai, and his collection of poems is housed at Jingū bunko library.

Hōrai Hisagata and Takeuchi Shikibu

As we have seen, Suika Shinto was becoming influential around Naikū, which had much to do with the existence of a scholar Tanigawa Kotosuga (1709-76) from present-day Tsu. Kotosuga came to Kyoto and learned Shinto under the guidance of Matsuoka Joan, Tamaki Isai, and their disciple Matsuoka Yūgen. Therefore, Kotosuga was related to Happa Mitsumasa in terms of the same academic lineage, through which Kotosuga's connection with priests of Naikū was extended. Among the priest of Naikū, it was Horai Hisagata (1739-88) who was active most. He became *gonnegi* an assistant senior priest of Naikū and served as a vice Ōmonoimi and Toshiyori of Uji. First, he learned from Happa Mitsumasa, through whom he became Kotosuga's student. Kotosuga acknowledged Hisagata's intellectual talent, and Hisagata became his son-in-law. Hisagata worked together with Kotosuga to edit Kotosuga's main books *Nihonshokitsūshō* and *Wakunnoshiori*.

Unfortunately, because the house of the Hōrai family was destroyed by fire in later years, books written by Hisagata were not much left except collection of poems and miscellaneous notes like *Shosaikenbunroku*. Hisagata supported loyalists and was intimately interacted with Karasaki Kotochika, with whom he studied together under the guidance of Kotosuga. Kotochika was from

the family of Shinto priests from Akinotakehara and was known as a sworn friend of loyalist Takayama Hikokurō. In later years when Hikokurō committed suicide by sword due to the bakufu's oppression, Kotochika also committed disembowelment in front of the grave of his ancestors.

Furthermore, Hisagata adored Kamo no Chōmei, who was a famous scholar of Kotosuga at that time and became a devoted reader of Moto'ori Norinaga's *Kojikiden*. In a previous year of his death 1787, he formally became Norinaga's disciple. Thus, it can be said that Hisagata played a leading role in introducing Kokugaku to ise. As Chapter 4 touches upon it, the studies of Kokugaku became active in Ise during the later Edo period. In addition, Hisagata also tried to rebuild Hayashizaki bunko library. This is further looked at later in this book. Next, Takeuchi Shikibu's visit to Ise is touched upon.

Takeuchi Shikibu (1712-67) was from Ni'igata. His given name was Takamochi and pen name was Shūsai. Shikibu was his common name. He came to Kyoto and learned Confucianism of Ansai school and Suika Shinto from Tamaki Isai and Matsuoka Yūgen. Later, he became a teacher of a court noble Tokudaiji Kinmura. Many young court nobles became Shikibu's students and were taught by Shikibu that a reason why the court became declined and the political power was taken over by military families was due to lack of diligent study and virtue of an emperor and court nobles. Shikibu asserted that if the emperor and court nobles continue to study, people's respect would be restored and the shogun would return the political power to the Imperial Court. By this, Shikibu encouraged court nobles. Shikibu's thoughts were eventually delivered to Emperor Momozono, and through court nobles, Shikibu lectured his theory about *Nihonshoki* to the Emperor.

However, Shikibu's thoughts, which can be understood as the theory of the revival of the ancient regime, invoked suspicion and rebel among conservative Kanpaku, higher ranking court nobles, and the Yoshida family whose specialty was taken over. As a result, his lecture to the emperor was stopped, and in 1759, more than twenty nobles, who had learned from Shikibu, were severely penalized; some were dismissed from the imperial court; some were forced to become monks; some were ordered to be confined to a house. Shikibu himself was expelled from Kyoto. This is called the Hōreki incident.

After this, Shikibu moved to Ise and stayed in Uji. It is thought that Shikibu received support of Tanigawa Kotosuga and Hōrai Hisagata behind the scene, and it seemed that Shikibu often stayed in Hisagata's residence (present-day Isuzugawa kindergarten). It happened in later years that Shikibu was expelled from Uji by Jingū *saishu*'s pressure; however, in general people of Uji were supportive to Shikibu, and Shikibu often lectured at Hayashizaki bunko library. At present, Jingū bunko library houses Shikibu's lecture notes such as *Nakatomi no harae*, *daigaku*, *Kinshiroku*, etc. The contents of these lecture notes show Shikibu's characteristics that he valued actual deeds and moved listeners.

Ukai Sadayoshi (1743-79), who was a retainer of Hisagata, also ardently learned from Shikibu and invited Shikibu to his residence. Sadayoshi served at Naikū and called himself Tayuu and pen name was Kisai. Shikibu's lecture notes *Nakatomi no harae kougū* was written by Sadayoshi. In 1767, the Meiwa incident took place in Edo. Yamagata Daini, who asserted the thought of reverence for the emperor, was executed, and Shikibu was also arrested because he was implicated in the matter. Shikibu cleared this case, and yet his charge of crime that Shikibu stopped in Kyoto in his banishment was decided. He was sent to Hachijoo. In December of the same year, Shikibu died from an illness. He was fifty-six years old.

Hayashizaki bunko library

In response to the foundation of Toyomiyazaki bunko library of Gekū, there was a movement to

build a library at Naikū. This movement was pursued by councilors of an autonomous organization of Uji, and Yamada-bugyō or a magistrate Okabe Katsushige also supported this and obtained one hundred Japanese 'ryo' units of money from the bakufu. As a result, in 1687, Naikū library was built in Maruyama the western bank of the Isuzu river. However, this place was very humid and not suited to house books; thus, in 1690, the library was moved to the northern adjacent place, which is the present location of the library. At that time, the name was changed to Hayashizaki bunko library. Not only Takeuchi Shikibu but also other renowned figures such as Hayashi Hōkō, Itō Tōgai, Miyake Shōsai, Hōjō Kate, and Ōshio Chūsai lectured about texts housed there.

However, compared with Toyomiyazaki bunko library, the activities of Hayashizaki bunko library were not so successful, and the facilities began to fall into ruin. It was Hōrai Hisagata who was concerned about the condition of the library and tried to restore it. In 1782, he repaired the storage, lecture hall, and study room. Furthermore, he tried to collect books as much as possible, opened an intermediary site to obtain books in Kyoto, Edo, and Osaka, and called for support to donate books throughout Japan. A collector of books Murai Kogan (1741-86) from Kyoto was one of those who responded to this call. He was a kimono fabrics dealer, and his pen name was Kinshidō. When Kogan heard about the call for collecting books, he visited Hisagata in Ise with Hikokurō and donated books in 1784. The number of his donated books exceeded more than two thousand six hundred, and Hayashizaki bunko library obtained abundant collections of books.

Additionally, Moto'ori Norinaga, who interacted with Hisagata, gave his "Hayashizaki no fumikura no kotoba" to the library, and a Confucian scholar of bakufu, Shibano Ritsuzan gave his "Hayashizaki bunko no ki" to the library. Both were inscribed on a monumental stone and preserved to this day. As for the existent buildings of the lecture hall, book storage, etc. were completed in 1823 after Hisagata's death. In 1873 after the Meiji Restoration, the land, buildings, and books of Hayashizaki bunko library were donated to Jingū Shichō (Administration of Jingū). The number of the book was more than twenty-two thousand. In 1882, Kogakkan was established at the lecture hall of the library as the institute for children of priests of Jingū, which was the origin of present Kogakkan University.

Scholars' reverence of Jingū and their visit to the Shrine

The view of Jingū of Confucians

In ancient times, Jingū had a rule that offering of *heihaku* (sacred silk and other sacred materials) was forbidden except the emperor. This is a rule so-called *shihei kindan* (nobody except the emperor could go and pray at Jingū). However, on the other hand, common people's visit to Jingū already became popular during the Heian period, and when the Edo period began after the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, common people's visit to Jingū was more active than before. In other words, Jingū had two characteristics: *sōbyō* or the mausoleum of the imperial ancestors and the object of common people's worship.

The two aspects of Jingū began to be discussed as the ideological issue during the Edo period when Confucianism was flourished. As Confucius says in the *Analects of Confucius*, "It is a flattery to hold memorial service for other's ancestors," one should not be involved in rituals for others' ancestors according to Confucianism. In China, there was the Mausoleum where the emperor's ancestors were enshrined. If this is applied to Japan, Jingū of Ise where the ancestral deity is enshrined would be the mausoleum. Therefore, from the standpoint of Confucianism, some scholars viewed that it was rude that common people visited to Jingū as the imperial mausoleum or they enshrine the amulets of Jingū at home.

The representative theory to oppose common people's visit to Jingū is the theory of Dazai Shundai (1680-1747) who followed Ogyū Sorai's school. He says in his book titled *Seigaku mondō*:

The Japanese people enshrined Amaterasu Ōmikami at home.... As Amaterasu Ōmikami is the ancestral deity of the Emperor, this deity is not the one for common people to enshrine. The fact that they enshrine this deity exceeds their right.

In short, it is explained that the act of enshrinement of Amaterasu Ōmikami by common people is presumptuous and disgraces the deity. Similarly, the feudal lord of Mito domain, Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700), known as "Mitokōmon" greatly supported Shinto, but he remarked about *Ise shinkou* (common people's faith in Ise Jingū):

Onshi (low-ranking priests who take care of pilgrims) of Ise delivered amulets to masters throughout Japan every year by somehow making connections with them. I heard that kami avoid impurity, and considering that Ise Jingū is the Mausoleum of Japan, *onshi*'s offerings should not be distributed. They are too ignorant to keep Ise Jingū from impurity and end up distributing the amulets and offerings to people. They do not know that we should worship kami and keep distance from kami (*Seizanzuihitsu*).

In short, Mitsukuni stated his view that common people should not casually receive the amulets from *onshi*. His view seemed to spread along with the flourishing of Confucianism to some extent, but in the end, a modified view became central, of not applying Confucian ideas to Japan but of situating Jingū based on the faith and practices since the old times in seeking conformity with Confucianism.

For instance, Watarai Nobuyoshi's *Yōbukuki* states:

There is a distinction between imperial rituals and prayer. There are three families at both Naikū and Gekū: the Ōnakatomi family is appointed to be *saishu* and *daiguji*; the Arakida and Watarai families serve as *negi*. They conduct rituals according to the emperor's orders, which are not their own.... As for prayers, they are different from these imperial rituals as anyone can pray for different reasons; some pray for cure of illness of their lord or parents with a sense of loyalty or filial piety. Kami would respond to such sincere prayer. Prayers can be offered to kami at a shrine or alter of home to avoid a disaster of the country or one's own before they face it. In short, while rituals are conducted by the emperor's order, prayers can be offered by common people. The point is kami surely respond to the prayers with sincerity.

Similarly, Nakae Tōju (1608-48), who was called *Ōmiseijin* or a saint from Ōmi with respect, initially did not support common people's visit to Jingū, but in later years, he changed his view and visited to Jingū for the first time at the age of thirty-four. He stated about it in *Tōju-sensei nenpu*:

I visited to Jingū of Ise with my three children in summer. The enshrined kami is the supreme kami. Common people are afraid to even approach to noble men; thus, it is even more fearful for them to approach to supreme kami. Yet, I finally visited to worship the supreme kami. After that, I continued to study and understood that common people can worship kami at home. If that is the case, then, they can also visit to worship kami. As Jingū is the origin of the establishment of our country, any Japanese people can visit there.

The more Tōju researched, the more he was convinced that common people had a way to enshrine kami on their own and that the Japanese people should visit to Jingū where the original ancestral deity is enshrined. Tōju, who formed his unique religious view after exploring various thoughts and idea, perceived the virtue of the enshrined kami of Jingū and changed his negative view about common people's visit to Jingū.

The idea held by Dazai Shundai that only the emperor should worship Jingū remained minority in the academic world, and most of Confucian scholars supported the Ise faith. In other words, there was no strong objection about common people's reverence of the imperial ancestral deity enshrined at Jingū. This reverence is the characteristics of Japan with an unbroken line of sovereign, which indicates nature of worship of Jingū differing from the Chinese system of the Mausoleum. As known, common people's worship of Jingū was getting more and more popular.

The Ise faith of the school of Yamazaki Ansai

In this section, we look at the faith of scholars during the Edo period. First, Yamazaki Ansai, who was touched upon in the previous chapter as the founder of Suika Shinto, held deep faith in Jingū in his early life. He wrote an article titled "Iseday Jingū gishiki jo" at the age of thirty-eight in 1655:

Kami responds to a sincere prayer, and kami's protection is realized by pure mind. If both the emperor and his subject sincerely worship the enshrined kami of Jingū without any darkness in their mind, they would surely perceive power of kami while Buddhism would lose its position.

There is a famous passage at the beginning here, which is the oracle of Amaterasu Ōmikami documented in *Yamatohime mikoto seiki* highly valued by Ise Shinto. In short, kami can be perceived through a sincere prayer, and the divine protection is fulfilled by honest and pure heart. "Ansai" is his Confucian pen name while his Shinto pen name is "Suika." The theory he formed is called Suika Shinto based on his Shinto pen name, and its theoretical basis is this oracle. Ansai firmly took an oath that he would never doubt this oracle. Ansai asserted that if both the emperor and his subject worship Jingū with a sincere prayer and honest and pure heart, the country will become a beautiful land like that of the ages of kami. The negation of Buddhism is also included in the oracle. This all shows Ansai's critical view of the syncretism of Buddhism and Shinto and favor of purity of Shinto.

Furthermore, according to *Yamazaki-kafu* (the record of the Yamazaki family), which Ansai himself documented his personal record, Ansai visited to Jingū starting in Meireki 3, Manji 1, Manji 2, Kanbun 3, Kanbun 8, and Kanbun 9. In total, he visited to Jingū at least six times. It is not sure for which visit Ansai made a poem, but he made one titled "Sangūchōgin":

The wave comes from the world of kami; there is a sound from the world of kami
A beautiful wind, land, and sunshine from Ise
After bathing, I see fish jumping out of the water
While walking in the forest, I heard a bird singing
Pines and cypresses stand tall to the sky
Cedars and camphor trees stand on the earth
Hundred emperors respected the virtue of the goddess
All beings have the heart of worship

Years have passed since its foundation
Rituals have been conducted since the ancient times to this day
People visit here
Kami influence people
(*Suikasō*, vol.3)

In this poem, Ansai praises the pure land of both Naikū and Gekū acknowledging the great divine virtue of Jingū indicated by the fact that people came from every part of Japan by the rituals that continue since the ancient times.

Also, Ansai's disciple's disciple Wakabayashi Kyōsai stated that "Yamazaki-sensei (master) emphasized the importance of wearing the formal attire at the time of getting involved in Amaterasu Ōmikami." Kyōsai documented Ansai's last moment:

In the second year of the Tenna period, sensei was on a bed of illness. On the 15th of September, he was very happy to hear arrival of an amulet from Ise and put a formal attire on to receive it. He did not take the formal attire until his last moment. On the 16th, his students softly recited *nakatomi no harae* (Shinto prayer). Sensei also softly recited it. In the evening, he passed away (*Shinto sōsai karei*).

Although he was on his back, Ansai appreciated the delivery of the amulet from Ise and received it with wearing formal clothes. He passed away while reciting the Shinto prayer of *Nakatomi no harae*. This prayer is present-day *oharae no kotoba*, and it seems that Ansai recited it in the manner of Ise. According to the current version of *oharae no kotoba*, our bad deeds and impurity are purified by kami, while according to the manner of Ise, we purify our bad deeds and impurity and have kami watch it. From this, we understand that the thought of Ise greatly influenced Ansai and that his reverence for Jingū was deep enough to act on it mentally and physically.

Ansai's reverence of Jingū was inherited to his disciples. Asami Keisai (1652-1711), who was Ansai's renowned disciple and critical of Ansai's support of Shinto, stated in response to his student's question about whether one should visit Jingū:

Everything in Japan including trees and grasses exists thanks to Amaterasu Ōmikami; thus, even common people should visit Jingū to offer their gratitude for her kindness.... Japanese Confucians do not know this and do not worship Jingū. But unlike China, everything including natural objects of mountains, rivers, grasses, and trees is obliged to Amaterasu Ōmikami (*Keisai sensei yowa*).

He criticized the Confucians who had a negative view about the visit to Jingū and asserted that in Japan, where Amaterasu Ōmikami's descendants live, the Japanese people should visit Jingū as Amaterasu Ōmikami sustains not only people but also nature such as mountains, rivers, grasses, and trees.

Furthermore, Keisai's disciple Wakabayashi Kyōsai (1679-1730) also supported his teacher's theory and stated:

Customs and manners of our country have been practiced thanks to kami; thus, to worship kami or to offer gratitude to kami in mind after purifying one's body, at the beginning of the year or at the time of departing, should not be regarded as a bad manner. Kami enshrined in Ise is the main deity of Japan, and her descendants have existed to this day.

Everyone has existed thanks to this deity's virtue, so regardless of social status, it would not be discourteous for common people to visit Jingū. In terms of a Shinto perspective, one does not have to discuss it. Visitors wish for various reasons. It might not be proper for visitors to place a votive picture of a horse for fulfillment of the hope. Jingū is a special place, so it is natural to worship there after purification.

Kyōsai states that to visit Jingū to pray for a personal matter is not encouraged as everyone receives limitless blessings, but it is fine to purify a body and worship there. It is useless to merely logically discuss in a way some Confucian scholars do. Today, it is often said that one should not pray for a personal issue at Jingū. Kyōsai's words indicate this attitude of visiting Jingū.

What is common among three generations Ansai, Keisai, and Kyōsai is that one should recognize the difference between Japan with the continuity of the divine lineage and other countries where the imperial lineage discontinued due to series of revolutions; one should offer one's gratitude for Amaterasu Ōmikami's virtue to kami. Kyōsai was struck by the words of Kusunoki Masashige that "if one has resentment for the emperor, one should recite the name of Amaterasu Ōmikami" and named his study room as "bounanken (*bouan* means respect to Masashige)" to revere Masashige. His words mean that because our ancestors have been received blessings from Amaterasu Ōmikami and the emperor, even if one has a feeling of resentment, such negative feeling soon banishes. Kyōsai was impressed by the fact that Masashige accomplished his mission with such deep discipline. We can see that the blessings that our ancestors received and their deep realization of the imperial blessings are the basis of the reverence of Jingū.

The View of Jingū of *Kokugaku* and *Mitogaku*

In this section, we will look at the view of Jingū of scholars of kokugaku. There are various figures, so the selected two scholars are touched upon in relation to the issue about the visit to Jingū: Moto'ori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane.

At first, it is widely known that Moto'ori Norinaga (1730-1801)'s theory of Shinto centers upon Amaterasu Ōmikami. The concept of gratitude to her also developed through him. Norinaga states:

The people should acknowledge the divine virtue and blessings of Amaterasu Ōmikami. Needless today, Amaterasu Ōmikami is the imperial ancestral deity. However, if the people merely know it without realizing that we have received everything thanks to her virtue, then it would be very sad (*Ise nikuu sakitake no ben*).

Norinaga also asserted the importance of realization about Amaterasu Ōmikami's limitless blessing, which had been already recognized by the people at that time before Norinaga showed his view. Norinaga developed this and explicitly stated that "Amaterasu Ōmikami is not the deity specific to Japan but also prevails in India, China, and beyond."

p.38

He further stated:

The virtue and blessing of the enshrined deity of Naikū are received by not only the people in Japan but also people of other countries; thus, Amaterasu Ōmikami is the deity to whom the people in Japan and beyond should worship (*Ise nikū sakitake no ben*).

Norinaga acknowledged the great virtue of Amaterasu Ōmikami. Hirata Atsutane (1766-1843) responded in his book titled *Kishin shinron* to a statement appearing in the *Analects of Confucius* “It is a flattery to hold memorial service for other’s ancestors”:

It is what Confucian scholars always criticize.... The Sun Goddess, whom the people revere, is enshrined at Jingū, which is greatly differs from the shrines of other countries in Asia where the departed souls are enshrined. To compare Jingū with those shrines of the dead is a nonsense uttered by ignorant Confucian scholars.

In short, Atsutane does not value the idea of looking at Jingū in comparison with the mausoleum of other countries. Next, we look at the view of Jingū of scholars of the Mito School who stated *sonnōjōi* (reverence of the emperor and expelling the foreign powers).

One of the leading scholars of the Mito school Fujita Tōko (1806-55) stated in his book titled *Kōdōkan no kijutsugi*:

Amaterasu Ōmikami is identical with the sun, and its spirit resides in the sacred mirror. Jingū is the magnificent sacred place where the spirit of the imperial ancestral deity is enshrined; thus, the fact that successive emperors have worshipped Jingū also means that they have worshipped their ancestor. This is fundamentally different from the worship of the celestial being in China. In the case of Japan, successive emperors as Amaterasu Ōmikami’s descendants inherited her virtue, and the subject have been grateful for it. This state, which is realized only in Japan, should be revered by other countries.

Tōko’s view corresponds to Norinaga’s theory. Furthermore, a renowned scholar Aizawa Seishisai (1782-1863) stated about a reason why Emperor Sujin removed *Yatanokagami*, the receptacle of the spirit of Amaterasu Ōmikami, from the Imperial Palace in his book titled *Shinron*; this book was widely read by loyalists:

If the kami was enshrined in the Imperial Palace, the reverence toward the imperial ancestral deity remained unveiled. Therefore, the Emperor decided to enshrine the kami outside the Imperial Palace and to publicly worship the kami with the people. The Emperor’s reverence would be recognized by the people. The kami should be revered not only by the Emperor but also by the rest of the society.

In other words, according to Seishisai, because to enshrine the kami in the Imperial Palace keeps its rituals private, Emperor Sujin tried to show his reverence of his ancestral deity to the public and to worship the kami together with the people. In this, the origin of the way is clearly discussed, in which both the emperor and the people worship the imperial ancestral deity together.

The Visit to Jingū of Scholars and Writers

We have looked at the aspect of scholars’ thoughts during the Edo period. This section touches upon scholars and writers who visited Jingū. Ōnishi Gen’ichi’s book titled *Sangū no konjaku* shows various examples. Besides Nakae Tōju, Yamazaki Ansai, whom this book has looked at, Confucians who visited Jingū include Yamaga Sokō, Kaibara Ekiken, Tani Jinzan, Itō Tōgai, Rai Shunsui, Father and son of sanyō, Ōshio Chūsai, Saitō Setsudō, Ōtsuki Bankei, Yanagawa Seigan, Yoshida Shōin, etc. In the case of scholars of *kokugaku*, Kitamura Kigin, Amano Sadakage, Kamo

no Mabuchi, Fujii Takanao, Ishikawa Yorihira visited Jingū. As for poets of haiku, starting with Matsuo Bashō, Mukai Kyorai, Hattori Ransetsu, Kagano Chijo, and so on visited Jingū.

Here among these, only two figures are mentioned. First, Itō Tōgai (1670-1736) was a so of Jinsai who was famous as a great authority of school of the ancient Confucianism. In Tōgai's writings, those about Shinto are hardly found. However, he made a poem at the time of his visit to Jingū:

Successive emperors have continued the imperial line and protected the people.
Japan is located far east, and the sun rises first here.
Both Naikū and Gekū are like the sun and moon.
The simple structure like thatch roof has not changed.
Rituals have continued in the peaceful society.
I came to Uji Yamada where Jingū stands still near the two rivers.
What should we pray for?
I prayed for the efflorescence of studies (“DaiJingū o haishite tsukuru (a poem composed when visiting the Grand Shrine of Ise),” in *Shōjutsu sensei bunshū*).

Tōgai compared Naikū and Gekū as the sun and the moon and appreciated the simplicity of the shrine buildings and the continuity of rituals. He prayed further development of the academic studies. In short, the Japanese people's deep gratitude toward Amaterasu Ōmikami's virtue made Japanese Confucians overcome the Confucian opposition and lead them to the visit to Jingū.

The next figure is Ōshio Chūsai (1793-1837), who is known as Heihachirō. While serving as an official of bakufu, he mastered Confucian study, mainly, Yōmei-gaku (neo-Confucianism based on the teachings of Wang Yangming and his followers). In the end, he put the result of his long-term studies together as a book titled *Senshindōsakkī*. In 1833, Chūsai offered this book to Mt. Fuji and visited Ise in order to report the completion of the work to the celestial beings by burning it at the summit of Mt. Asama.

However, as the priest of Gekū Ajiro Nironori, with whom Chūsai interacted, opposed his plan to burn the book, he donated his book *Sakkī* to both Toyomiyazaki and Hayashizaki libraries. In 1834, Chūsai visited Jingū and lectured on *Daigaku* at Hayashizaki bunko library. In two years later, as known in general, he rose up for farmers in Osaka and died.

Additionally, although Ōnishi does not mention it, this section concludes with a short description about a loyalist Takayama Hikokurō (1747-93), who traveled on a pilgrimage throughout Japan. His existent diary shows that he visited Jingū in 1774 and 1783.

About his first visit to Jingū, Hikokurō arrived in Yamada on the 5th of February and stayed in Ise until the eleventh. Besides Naikū and Gekū, he went to Mt. Asama, enjoying scenery with a telescope and visited Ōmuiwa, Futami, and Toba. His lodging in Uji was the residence of *onshi* Happa Ishidayū. At his second visit to Jingū, Hikokurō traveled together with Murai Kogan. They arrived in Yamada on the fourteenth of September via the Tokaido Road from Edo and soon went to Uji to visit Hōrai Hisagata. On that day, Kanmiso-sai ritual was to be held; thus, both Hikokurō and Kogan visited Hisagata at Jingū, who was staying there for the ritual.

The next day, there was a ritual for the Okitama deity of Naikū, and Hikokurō worshipped at the main sanctuary, wearing a new attire of hemp. After getting the offered sacred rice wine, Hikokurō finished worshipping auxiliary shrines locating to the east of the main sanctuary. He also worshipped at Gekū and was guided to visit Uji Hisaoyu. Unfortunately, his diary discontinued after this; thus, we do not know his movements after his second visit to Jingū.

The Efflorescence of Kokugaku at Naikū and Gekū

Selected families of Naikū

Let us look at Ise again. Since the middle of the Edo period, kokugaku became popular. Kamono Mabuchi and Moto'ori Norinaga initiated the development of kokugaku, and their influence was gradually found in Ise. Hōrai Hisagata lived during this transitional period of kokugaku. After this, the number of priests of Jingū, who seriously studied kokugaku, increased. Let us start with the side of Naikū. Nakagawa Tsunetada (1742-1805)'s nick names were Bungo and Shōji, and his father was *negi* of Naikū. In 1773, Tsunetada was appointed to be the eighth *negi* of Naikū, which made him very happy and intend to complete the commentary of *Kōtai Jingū gishikichō*. *Gishikichō* is the fundamentally important research material of Jingū created in 802, and Tsunetada fulfilled his intention by writing *Dai Jingū gishiki ge*. Tsunetada was intimately interacted with Norinaga, who did proofreading of *Dai Jingū gishiki ge* and wrote its preface. This text, which became a starting point of studies of Jingū, has not lost its value as a monument of learning of Jingū.

Norinaga asked Tsunetada to read *Kojikiden* and made a house call when Tsunetada was sick. When Tsunetada visited Norinaga's house, he made a poem to praise Norinaga's dedication to studies of ancient matters. Uji Hisaoyu (1746-1804) was a son of *gonnegi* of Gekū Hashimura Masanobu, who was familiar with both Chinese and Japanese classical literature and produced many books such as *Kaikoku shinto kō*. Hisaoyu became an adopted son of a priest of Naikū, Uji (Arakida) Hisayo and served as a *gonnegi* of Naikū. His pen name was Itsukinosono, and he went to Edo, studied under the guidance of Kamono Mabuchi, and respected Moto'ori Norinaga. Hisaoyu had many students, who were priests of Jingū including Ajiro Hironori, Masuya Suehogi, etc, and contributed to the development of kokugaku in the Ise region. It is said that Hisaoyu liked sake and an openhearted man. He continued his teacher Mabuchi's study of *Manyōshū* and devoted his life to it. As a result, he finished a book titled *Manyōkō tsuki no ochiba* and a collection of his poems titled *Tsukino ochiba shū* as a good poet of the *Manyō* style.

In his book titled *Tsukino ochiba kokoroyari*, he asserted that the enshrined deity of Gekū is Toyouke no hime and criticized the claim of the priests of Gekū that the enshrined deity is Kuni no tokotachi no mikoto. In response to this, a priest of Gekū, Kōda Mitsutaka, offered a counterargument by writing *Shinpū hatsumushū*. Hisaoyu further wrote *Shinpū hatsumushū ben* with the name of his student and criticized that five fundamental texts of Ise Shinto, which priests of Gekū considered to be the basis, are forgery. This dispute continued until the death of Mitsutaka.

Sonoda Moriyoshi (1785-1840)'s nick name was Daini and pen name was Seien. He became a *negi* of Naikū in 1812 and got a rank of *ju shū'i ge*. He inherited the hereditary studies from his father and studied both Chinese and Japanese classical literature. He was also familiar with the political system based on the *ritsuryō* codes of the ancient time. He especially devoted himself to the studies of the ancient manners and practices of Jingū and completed entire forty-four volumes of *Jingū tenryaku*, which can be said to be an encyclopedia of Jingū. Besides these books, he wrote *Shinshaku ryō no gige*, *Naikū negi nenpyō*, *Gekū negi nenpyō*, etc.

Selected families of Gekū

Selected main scholar-priests of Gekū are mentioned here. Ajiro Hironori (1784-1856) called himself Shikibu gondayū, and his pen name was Kankyo. In 1788, he was appointed to be a *gonnegi* of Gekū and first became a student of Uji Hisaoyu and later learned waka poetry from a court noble Shibayama Mochitoyo; he also became a student of Moto'ori Norinaga's adopted son, Ōhira and Norinaga's biological son, Haruniwa. He went to Edo and interacted with figures from

prestigious families including Hayashi Jussai, Hanawa Hoki'ichi, Kariya Ekisai, Yashiro Hirokata, etc. Hironori made an effort to conduct bibliographical study of Shinto and Japanese history and produced more than one thousand two hundred volumes of texts including *Watarai keizu kōshō*, *Yachimata hoyoku*, *Manyōshū ruigo*, *Ryōno gige rui*, etc. More than a few hundred students learned from him, from whom great figures appeared such as Matsuura Takeshirō, Hashimura Masatoki, Mikannagi Kiyonao, Sasaki Hirotsuna, and so on.

In 1845, Hironori went to Kyoto and offered twenty-five books, including *Shoku nihonkōki jinmei burui*, *Sandai jitsuroku jinmei burui*, *Montoku jitsuroku koji seigo kō*, etc., to the Imperial Court. Emperor Ninkō at that time acknowledged them and gave him an inkstone.

Hironori, moreover, was concerned about the society; he tried to restore Toyomiyazaki bunko library and preached that public morals should be corrected as *onshi* corrupted public decency. At the time of famine of the Tenpō era, he involved himself in relief activity and interacted with Ōshio Heihachirō, who rose up for farmers in Osaka, as we have seen. They must have shared a common aspiration. At that time, Hironori was suspected whether he was involved in the Rebellion of Ōshio and was summoned to Osaka, but he was not charged with it. Hironori's ardent heart is expressed by his poem: "Once something happens, I want to be there no matter if I have to enter fire or water, but I am very old." At the end of the Edo period, he supported loyalists and received Yoshida Shōin's visit.

Hashimura Masatoki (1785-1837) called himself Danjō and served as a *gonnegi* and Ōmonoimichichi at Gekū. He became a student of Moto'ori Haruniwa and Ōhira and devoted himself to the studies on manners and practices of Jingū. As a result, he proceeded the writings titled *Gekū gishiki ge*, but unfortunately, after writing four volumes, he could not finish it. Besides this, he wrote books to try to correct corruption about rules of impurities and mourning, titled *Rujūbukkiryō* and *Hōsōshōshō*. He went to Edo to study and was favored with the friendship of many scholars, and especially intimately interacted with Hirata Atsutane.

Additionally, Masatoki wrote *Bizenkoku oharai mondōki* to argue against a Buddhist School, Jōdo Shinshū. It was because Jōdo Shinshū declined to contribute amulets of Jingū in Bizen Province, which is the place of the patron of Masatoki's relative and *onshi* Bizendayū.

Mikannagi Kiyonao (1812-94) was called Shizuma and Shōsho, and his pen name was Hōen. He was born as a son of *kujō ōuchindo* of Gekū, Sugihara Mitsumoto and became an adopted son of Mikannagi Kiyotomi; he was appointed to be *mikannagi uchindo* of Gekū and to be a *negi* of Jingū after the Meiji Restoration. He was a student of Moto'ori Haruniwa, Ajiro Hironori, Hashimura Masatoki and interacted with scholars of *Kokugaku* such as Ban Nobutomo, Suzuki Shigetane, Ōkuni Takamasa, and so forth. Kiyonao's subjects of studies are diverse. His representative works are the book of re-examination of the *Shinto Gobusho* (a five-volume apologia of Shinto) titled *Daijingū honki kiseishō*, the study of Saikū titled *Saikūryō kōshō*, and the study of *Sendaikujihongi*, which founded the base of the study of this text, titled *Sendaikujihongi sekigi*.

As the last figure, she might not be categorized as a scholar of *Kokugaku*, but Keitoku Reijo (1732-1806), who was famous as a female writer and poet, was also from Ise. Reijo was a daughter of *gonnegi* of Naikū, Kamaya Taketo'o, and after being adopted by *onshi* of Gekū, the Keitoku family, her husband Iemasa entered this family. She learned Chinese classical literature from Emura Hokkai and was familiar with Japanese history and literature by reading books housed at Toyomiyazaki bunko library. She was good at making waka, renga (linked verse), and haiku and gave lessons in renga at a session of renga held at the library. It is said that the number of her collections of writings is more than four hundred volumes, and her representative works are historical literature such as *Tsuki no yukue* and *Ike no mokuzu*. There is an episode about her and Moto'ori Norinaga. He read her *Nonaka no shimizu* and pointed out her errors of using archaic terms,

but Reijo was upset about it and never accepted Norinaga's correction.

Other than these scholars, there are more scholars to be introduced, but they cannot be covered here. Note that the development of Kokugaku at both Naikū and Gekū, especially the study of the ancient manners and practices of Jingū, established the foundation of the restoration of Jingū during the Meiji period.

Conclusion

In Ise, as we have seen, various kinds of studies and thoughts blossomed, and many scholars and writers visited Jingū, which lead to deepen the thoughts of reverence of Jingū. Every thought and study shaped at Ise would not have been possible without the magnificent existence of Jingū; in the depth of predecessors' studies, their ardent reverence for the kami of Jingū was surely found. We would like to keep the virtue and blessing of the kami of Jingū and continue to be grateful for it in our daily life.

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