

日本德川時代古學派之王道政治論:以伊藤仁齋、荻生徂徠爲  
中心

**The Political Theory of Kingcraft of the Ancient  
Learning School in the Age of Tokugawa  
Japan--Centered on Ito Jinsai and Ogyu Sorai**

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摘要

本論文是以日本德川時代古學派的伊藤仁齋與荻生徂徠的"王道政治論"作為探討主題,針對以下三個問題提出若干解釋: 1.伊藤仁齋與荻生徂徠的"王道政治論"思想本質差異何在?何以二者所倡的"王道"思想,會有如此天壤之別? 2.伊藤仁齋與荻生徂徠的"王道政治論"之理論基礎為何?二人如何轉變中國的儒學思想? 3.伊藤仁齋與荻生徂的"王道政治論"在德川後儒思想中,產生何種影響?以及在日本幕府及近代意識造成什麼樣的影響. 因此,本論文第二章<古學派的思想淵源與背景>首先介紹仁齋與徂徠思想的形成經過並綜合地比較兩者思想,點出二人雖同倡復古學,但卻有本質上的差異.接著探討古學派思想與中晚明士人的反朱學思潮有所交集,嘗試從經典詮釋的體驗之學做一比較,並認為欲了解古學派思想淵源,不可獨從明代士人思想著眼而排除漢儒的思想.在古學派思想背景方面,亦有必要說明德川前期儒者的儒道與神道之間的糾葛,說明何以從最沒有神道糾葛的仁齋與徂徠作為王道政治思想的研究.此章乃先對仁齋、徂徠的思想做一綜合性比較,以作為陳述第一個問題的背景. 第三章即進入本論文中心主軸,處理本論文的第一個問題:<古學派的王道政治論及革命觀>,因作為主題闡述,故在第一節必須對孟子王道政治論命題的提出,做一番源頭整理的工作,以利於對古學派王道政治論的分析與比較.接著環繞本論文以君臣關係、湯武放伐論、管仲論、王霸論、仁義與禮樂之爭等王道政治論之五項內容,對於仁齋與徂徠所持理論詳細分析,發現日本古學派無論尊孟或非孟,均對管仲論持高度肯定,以此看出日本儒者實學性格的特色.並且二人皆對湯武放伐的革命論,亦皆抱持肯定態度,藉此來看二人理論對於幕府政權的威脅性. 本論文第三章是處理古學派的"王道政治論如何"的層次問題,第四章<古學派王道政治論之理論基礎--對中國儒學觀念的質變與細緻化>,則處理本論文的第二個問題,更深層地探索王道政治之理論基礎,基

本上是"爲何"的根源問題,主要針對古學派對於仁、義、禮、智、道、德等諸多"單位觀念"(unit idea)作分析,以看出中國儒學的思想如何被日本儒者"轉變"或"轉化",藉此窺出日本古學派思想細緻化的一面,並以這些單位觀念串成其王道政治論的理論基礎。因爲仁齋與徂徠各在古學派開宗們,影響日後儒者爭辯不已,尊孟非孟的議題,在往後的德川儒學界更加顯題化,所以在第五章<王道政治在德川儒學的迴響--對孟子政治思想的爭辯>,則針對第三個問題加以討論,以古學派的王道政治論爲基礎,將焦點縱深地注視在德川中後期之間延續仁齋與徂徠對於王道政治論的論辯,因爲古學派一方面基本立場皆是公然反對朱子學,故遭受朱子學派官方與民間儒者的攻擊,至有 1790 年官方的"寬正異學"的禁令,而徂徠極力排斥孟子,極重事功傾向,引起程朱學者批駁較多,仁齋因在許多思想上與宋儒頗有雷同,所以如徂徠批判他說:亦宋儒之歸。例如:在尊孟的態度上,仁齋與程朱之學是相同的,故徂徠學派遭攻擊較甚,一些反復古學派的著作如雨後春筍地大量出現,主要議題仍然限定在王道政治論內容的諸多課題,而護徂徠學的弟子亦提出辯駁。雙方爭執焦點其實亦不外對於孟子政治思想以及古學派對於孟子思想的詮釋展開論戰,本論文欲藉此分析出古學派王道思想的影響與變質。最後,在第六章結論部份,總結綜合上述五章陳述的內容,並提出對問題的後續展望。

### **Abstract**

This thesis bases its subject under discussion on the political theory of kingcraft of Ito Jinsai(1627-1705) and Ogyu Sorai(1666-1728),scholars of the Ancient Learning School in the age of Tokugawa Japan,thus,advancing explanations of the three questions as follow: 1)What is the difference in nature between the kingcraft of political theoryof Ito Jinsai and that of Ogyu Sorai?and why did either scholar diversify hisown thought of kingcraft from one another"s thought to such a large extension.2)What is the foundation of which the both scholars" theories of kingcraft had laid? And how did they transform the Chinese Confucianism?3)What kind of effect did both scholar"political theories of kingcraft have upon the Confucians thinking in the later half of the age Tokugawa? And how did they affect the Bakufu and modern consciousness? Accordingly,in the chapter two, "The origin and background of the thought of ancient learning school", the thesis firstly introduces the progress in which the thought of Ito Jinsai and Ogyu Sorai were shaped,and then synthetically compares both scholars"thinking,figuring out that though the both scholars promoted the renai-ssance of ancient Japanese learning,they different in nature.Secondly, the thesis inquires further into the point by which the thoughts of Ancient Learning School had been in association with the anti-Neoconfucianism,under the intellectuals between middleand late Ming Dynasty, attempts to compare the classics in terms of hermeneutics, and views that not only the intellectuals throughout Ming Dynasty but also the Confucian thought of Han Dynasty should be indispensable to the intellectualorigin of Ancient Learning School

thoughts. It is also of necessity to expound the search for kingcraft theories of Ito Jinsai and Sorai, who had the least complication with Shintoism. Upon the overall comparison of both scholars' thoughts, this chapter leads itself to the thinking background of the first problem. The chapter three is the central axis that deals with the first problem of thesis, namely, "The kingcraft and the idea of revolution of Ancient Learning School". Being a subject description, the first section is required to clarify the advancement of Mencius's kingcraft proposition from its beginning, hence, it would be easier to analyze and compare the kingcraft theories among the Ancient Learning School. Centering on the above-mentioned kingcraft, the following five points, the revolutionary theory of Tang Wu overthrow, between the interrelationship of monarchs and the subjects, the theory of Kuan-Chung, the theory of kingcraft and hegemony, and the controversies between benevolence-righteousness and propriety-ceremonial music, dissect the theories of Ito Jinsai and Ogyu Sorai, reasoning out the work on Kuan-Chung (管仲) had been highly esteemed in the eyes of Ancient Learning School scholars, be they pro-Mencius or anti-Mencius. Thence, the Confucianists of Japan were proved to have the pragmatic character. Furthermore both scholars had a great assent to the revolutionary theory of Tang Wu overthrow (湯武放伐), their theories had been demonstrated menacing towards the Bakufu. As a whole, this chapter aims at solutions to the first problem. The chapter three into the level of "How" of the Ancient Learning School kingcraft. The chapter four "The foundation of the kingcraft theories of Ancient Learning School--metamorphosis and subtilization towards the idea of Chinese Confucianism", extends its further search for the foundation of kingcraft political theories. These problems are basically "Why" focusing on the analyses of many a unit-idea, such as benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, way, and morality. In this context, one should be cognizant of the fact that how Japanese Confucianists had "metamorphosed" or "transformed" Chinese Confucianism, and should also have a preliminary insight into subtilization of Japanese Ancient Learning School in thinking. Now that either was a paramount authority, under whom the controversy over Confucianism had been increasingly affected. All arguments about pro-Mencius and anti-Mencius were to be more head-lined in the later period of Tokugawa Confucianism, thereupon, the chapter five "The repercussions of the kingcraft on the Tokugawa Confucianism--the controversies over political thought of Mencius", dig into the third problem. On the basis of kingcraft theories under the Ancient Learning School. This chapter is concentrated downwards on the Confucianist from middle Tokugawa period to late Tokugawa period, continuing the controversies over kingcraft theories between Ito Jinsai and Ogyu Sorai. Since one of its fundamental positions was openly against the Neo-Confucianism (specially is Chu Hsi S

chool), the Ancient Learning School suffered attacks by both official and private Neo-Confucianists, which led to a state edict "heresy" in 1790. With an inclination to pragmatism that vehemently excluded Mencius, Sorai was more criticized by Sorai as "an identity of Sung Neo-Confucianism" because his thought coincided with Neo-Confucianism in many respects. For instance, thanks to its sympathy with Chen Hao, Chen Yi, and Chu Hsi in favor of Mencius, Sorai School was more attacked on the Reviving Ancient Learning School, suddenly, came up into being, whose subjects were still limited to some themes within kingcraft. Also, those students in favor of Sorai School presented their arguments. The both sides initiated, in effect, their controversies within the scope of Mencius's political thought and of Ancient Learning School interpretations of Mencius. Herewith, the thesis analyzes the influences and transformations of Ancient Learning School kingcraft thoughts. In the end, the chapter six in its conclusions summarizes what the previous five chapters have explored and issues future outlooks towards these problems.