The Worship of Confucius in Japan

APPENDIXES

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Contents

*Conventions**

For Chinese transliteration, Pinyin is used; for Korean, the McCune-Reischauer system; and for Japanese, a modified version of the Hepburn system.

All pre-Restoration dates are based on the traditional lunar calendar and are given in the following form: year in the Common Era/ lunar month in lowercase roman numerals/ day of the month in arabic numerals, for example, 1691/iv/20. Beginning with the year 1873, all dates are cited in accordance with the Gregorian calendar.

Modern Japanese orthography is used for Chinese characters throughout the text of the appendixes for texts in Japanese and for the Chinese characters in citations of, or quotations from, works published outside Japan. Titles of works in Chinese edited or published in Japan are cited in footnotes in romanized Japanese. The titles of texts written in Chinese by expatriate Chinese in Japan, however, are cited in transliterated Chinese.

A list of "works cited" is added at the end of each appendix with the following abbreviations used for frequently cited periodicals, series, and collectanea:

CC Legge, James, trans. *The Chinese Classics*. Original ed., 1865–93. Reprint. 5 vols. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960.

KJBS *Kinsei Juka bunshū shūsei* 近世儒家文集集成. 16 vols. Perikansha, 1985–99.

KKS *Kokusho Kankōkai sōsho* 國書刊行会叢書. 260 vols. Kokusho Kankōkai, 1905–41.

KT Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美, ed. [*Shintei zōho*] *Kokushi taikei* [新訂増補] 国史大系. 62 vols. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962–67.

MN *Monumenta Nipponica*.

NKB *Nihon kyōiku bunko* 日本教育文庫. Dōbunkan ed., 1910–11. Reprint. 13 vols. Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1977.

NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系. 100 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1957–67.

NKSS Monbushō 文部省, comp. *Nihon kyōiku shi shiryō* 日本教育史資料. 10 vols. Fuzan Bō, 1890–92.

NKT Takimoto Seiichi 滝本誠一, comp. *Nihon keizai taiten* 日本經濟大典. 54 vols. Keimeisha, 1928–30.

NS Nagoya Shi Kyōiku Iinkai 名古屋市教育委員会 ed. *[Kōtei fukkoku] Nagoya sōsho* [校訂復刻] 名古屋叢書, Reprint. 46 vols. Nagoya-shi: Aichi-Ken Gōdo Shiryō Kenkyūkai, 1982.

NST *Nihon shisō taikei* 日本思想体系. 67 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1970–present.

SBBY *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要. 348 vols. Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1936.

SIKKZ *Sentetsu icho kanseki kokujikai zensho* 先哲遺著漢籍國 字解全書 and

	Sentetsu icho tsuiho kanseki kokujikai 先哲遺著追補漢籍國字解全書. 45 vols. Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1909–17.
SKQS	*[Qinding] Siku quanshu* [欽定] 四庫全書 (Wenyuan ge 文淵閣 ed.). 5000 vols. Taiwan: Shangwu Yinshuguan,1986.
SNS	*Sōsho Nihon no shisōka, dai ikki* 双書日本の思想家, 第一期. 50 vols. Meitoku Shuppansha, 1977–present.
SZKS	*Shintei zōho kojitsu sōsho* 新訂増補故實叢書. 39 vols. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, Meiji Tosho, 1951–57.
ZZGR	*Zokuzoku gunsho ruijū* 續々群書類従. 16 vols. Kokusho Kankōkai, 1906–9.

* For further details regarding the conventions used in these appendixes, see the section on conventions in James McMullen, *The Worship of Confucius in Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2019), xix–xxii. Hereafter other cross-references to the main text will appear as *WOC* followed by the appropriate page number or numbers.

Appendix 1

Nomenclature in the East Asian Cult of Confucius

The student of the cult of Confucius in Japan is confronted with a principal ritual known in East Asia by several ambiguous and potentially confusing names. From the start canonical references had been vague and inconsistent, but the problem was compounded as the ceremony developed through history and across East Asia. As this happened, the terminology by which it was known assumed different meanings in practice. The significance of terms used became the subject of scholarly discussion among liturgists. Variety is found along several axes: the patronage and status of the rite, whether official or unofficial; its scale; the identity and number of correlates or venerands in addition to Confucius himself; the nature and quantities of the offerings; and the use of music and other liturgical details.

The names by which the ceremony is most frequently known in Chinese are: *shidian* 釈奠 (J. *sekiten*; K. *sŏkchŏn*) and *shicai* 釈菜 (J. *sekisai; K. sŏkch'ae*). A less frequently used but related term was *shecai* 舍菜 [采] (J. *sekisai)*. The ceremony was also referred to as "*dingji*" 丁祭 (J. *teisai*) from the day of the monthly calendrical cycle on

which it was generally performed.[1] Of these terms, *shidian* and *sekisai* are most likely to cause confusion. They are used in the canonical sources (chiefly the *Liji* [Book of rites]) for sacrifice to former sages or teachers, but inconsistently, and with some overlapping and vagueness and with potentially different nuances. Both are grammatically verb (or verbal noun) plus object, whether explicit or implicit. *Shidian* means to "place and leave [an oblation on an altar]"; *shicai* means literally to "offer vegetables." The literal implication of the terms *shidian* and *shicai* would suggest that the former includes meat offerings while the latter only vegetables. This distinction, though it may have been present in the minds of some, is irregularly maintained.

The most seminal canonical references can be associated, albeit again inconsistently, with a differentiation between *shidian* and *shicai* by the occasion and context of the ritual and by the type of offering. The *shidian* was seasonal; it was performed at an altar within the precincts of "every school" and took the form of "placement of offerings" (*shidian)* to "earlier teachers" (*xianshi* 先師), with the "accompaniments of dancing and singing" in spring, autumn, and winter. The content of the offerings is not

[1]. Other names occur less frequently. In the Kurume domain school, the rite, in which Mencius as well as Confucius was conspicuously venerated, was referred to as the "Kō-Mō onmatsuri" 孔孟御祭り (*NKSS* 6: 140). In recent times in Japan, the ceremony has come to be referred to frequently as Kōshisai 孔子祭.

specified.[2] *Shicai* specified offerings of vegetables; it was often, but not always, occasioned by some form of initiation, whether the establishment of a school; the commencement of the annual cycle of teaching; or the entry of a student into school, as a gift to teachers.[3] Both terms were also used of sacrifices to spirits other than those of the Confucian tradition.

A common starting point for discussion of post-canonical ceremonies was a statement by the Song dynasty historian Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–70). In his *Xiangzhou Gucheng Fuzi miaoji* 襄州穀城夫子廟記 (Record of the Confucius Shrine at Gucheng in Xiangzhou), Ouyang restated the seasonal and initiatory associations, respectively, of the *shidian* and *shicai.* The *shidian* was extant in his own time and denoted seasonal rites in a school; *shicai*, an abbreviation of *shidian* without music, but lost by his own time, referred

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[2]. *Liji,* "Wenwang shizi" 文王世子, *Li chi* 1: 347–48; *Raiki* 1: 514. An apparent departure from this usage is the "Yueling" 月令 book of the *Liji*: "At the metropolitan school, on the first *ting* day [of the second month] orders are given to the chief director of music to exhibit the civil dances [*xiwu* 習] and unfold the offerings of vegetables [*shicai* 釈] (to the inventor of music)." *Li chi* 1: 261; *Raiki* 1: 408.

[3]. For the establishment of schools: *Liji*, "Wenwang shizi," *Li chi* 1: 349; *Raiki* 1: 516. In the immediately preceding passage of "Wenwang shizi" for commencement of the annual cycle, note the inconsistency among the unspecified offerings for the establishment of schools; *Liji*, "Xue ji" 學記, *Li chi* 2: 84, 177; for the induction of students, Biot, *Le Tcheou-li*, 2: 46.

to initiatory sacrifice on entry into school.[4] A similarly broad division, but concerning scale rather than occasion, was followed by the Qing ritual scholar Qin Huidian 秦蕙田 (1702–64), author of a thorough discussion of the history and nomenclature of the rite in his *Wuli tongkao* 五礼通考 (Comprehensive study of the five rituals). "The *shidian* rite is important and the *shicai,* unimportant."[5] What follows describes the most common uses of these terms in post-canonical China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam.

China

Beginning in the Six Dynasties (229–589 CE) period, the term *shidian* came into use for official state rites at the metropolitan and provincial levels. The official *shidian* was commissioned by the emperor. In Tang, this was a rite of the "middle sacrifice"; it involved

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4. *Ouyang Xiu quanji* 歐陽修全集, 1: 273–74. In translation the passage reads: "*Shidian* and *shicai* are abbreviation of sacrifice. Anciently, when a gentleman appeared before a teacher, he used vegetables as his gift [*zhi* 贄]. Therefore, one who first enters a school invariably sacrifices vegetables as a rite [sc. the *shicai*] to former teachers [compare: Biot, *Le Tcheou-li*, 2: 46: "Au printemps, on entre dans le collége: ils placent ja plante *Tsai*" (周礼，大胥春入学舍(菜; *Li ji*, "Xue ji" 學記, *Li chi* 2: 84; *SIKKZ* 2: 177]. The officers of the school in their sacrifices of the four seasons all [used] the *shidian*. The *shidian* had music but no impersonator [*shi* 尸] [compare: *Liji*, "Wenwang shizi," *Li chi* 1: 347; *SIKKZ* 1: 51]. The *shicai* had no music. Therefore it is a further abbreviation. On this account its ritual was lost. Yet, by good fortune, the *shidian* still exists."

5. Qin Huitian, *Wuli tongkao*, 117/1b (137–794).

the offering of four-footed animal flesh, a symbolic precedent for which was Han Gaozu's sacrifice of a *tailao* 大牢 (*suovetaurilia*, or "great beast"; ox, sheep, and pig) in 195 BCE. Participants in the actual ceremony ranged from the emperor himself to metropolitan and provincial officials and to students, who were drawn from academic institutions but increasingly from the wider bureaucracy.

The ancient *shicai,* as Ouyang Xiu pointed out, had died out in post-canonical times. It had perished, he suggested, because as an abbreviated form of an already abbreviated rite, it had no music. In a similar direction, the Song Neo-Confucian Lü Dalin 呂大臨 (1044–91) wrote that "the *shicai* is the ultimate in simplicity of rituals. In all respects [its quality] does not lie in multiplicity of items [sacrificed], and it values sincerity."[6] According to a Qing-dynasty source, *Qinding Liji yishu* 欽定礼記義疏 (Imperially commissioned glosses and commentary on the *Book of Rites*), it was said "to be a matter [concerning] students."[7] Thus it was generally thought to be a lesser ritual than the *shidian.*

The *shicai* was revived from the Song dynasty on. Despite its name, this version of the rite did not preclude meat offerings. Zhu Xi's (1130–1200) influential *Cangzhou jingshe shicai yi* 滄洲精舍釈菜儀 (The Cangzhou retreat *shicai* ceremony), intended for unofficial veneration of Confucius at a private academy, is an important example.[8] The offerings included vegetables (*cai* 菜), "dried meat" (*fu* 脯), and fruit in bamboo-covered

6. Quoted in ibid., 117/14b (137–801).

7. *Qinding Liji yisu* (1748), quoted in ibid., 117/12a (137–800).

8. Text in *Zhuzi wenji*, *juan* 13, 479–80. See also Walton, *Academies and Society,* 45–46.

stemmed receptacles (*bian* 籩); bamboo shoots (*sun* 筍) were placed in covered stemmed vessels (*dou* 豆), here presumably of porcelain or lacquer. Despite its name, therefore, this is not, in its strictest sense, a wholly "vegetarian" offering. The *Qinding Liji yishu* claimed: "The *shicai* has no banner, but has never lacked dried and salted meat (*fuhai* 脯醢). That it is not spoken of as a 'dried meat sacrifice' but is called a 'vegetable sacrifice' may derive from a predilection for the fresh and clean."[9]

The term *shicai* was used specifically for a variety of ceremonies, mainly for small-scale, intramural official rites or for unofficial versions. The following examples, which serve as relevant comparisons to the Japanese history of the rite, illustrate the variety in usage of the term:

> 1) The "Biyong shicaiyi" 辟廱釋菜儀 (The *shicai* ceremony at the examination hall), a special ceremony with reduced paraphernalia and offerings and no music, to welcome provincial candidates (*gongshi* 貢士) selected for entry to the metropolitan school.[10]
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> (2) The *Cangzhou jingshe shicai yi*, mentioned above, was a historically important, unofficial liturgy created by the Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi for his private retreat.[11]
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> (3) The *Yueshuo shicai yi* 月朔釈菜儀 (*Shicai* ceremony on the first day of the month), an official, reduced-scale, intramural monthly ceremony (later made

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[9]. Quoted in Qin Huitian, *Wuli tongkao*, 117/12a; 137–800.

[10]. For the text of "Biyong shicaiyi," see Zheng Juzhong, *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*, 123/2a–4a.

[11]. Zhu Xi, *Cangzhou jingshe shicai yi*.

bimonthly) held in the Ming metropolitan State Academy (Guoxue 国学) on the first day of the month, which included offerings of a calf, a sheep, and a pig.[12]

Japan

In ancient Japan, where attempts were made to replicate many of the ritual institutions of Tang China, the *sekiten* was used generically for a sacrificial ceremony to venerate Confucius, irrespective of whether meat was offered or, as became the case from the twelfth century on, excluded from the offerings. This generic sense is illustrated by the production of a text entitled *Sekiten niku wo kyō sezaru koto* 釈奠不供肉事 (On not offering meat in the *sekiten*).[13]

In Tokugawa Japan, *sekiten* was also frequently used generically to refer to rituals of sacrifice to Confucius and correlates, irrespective of scale or whether or not the offerings contained meat or were official. No doubt, the term *sekiten* dignified the ceremony. An example of a "*sekiten*" where the offerings did not include meat is Okayama (315,200 *koku*; Hangakkō, 1669).[14]

Japanese liturgical scholars, however, also used the term *sekiten* in a narrower, more technical sense to refer to official, as opposed to unofficial versions of the rites, again irrespective of whether or not the offerings contained meat. The term *sekiten* was applied to the Bakufu College (Shōheizaka Gakumonjo) ceremony in this sense after the Bakufu

12. Li Dongyang, *Da Ming huidian,* 91/29a–30b (1447).

13. Kanō Bunko 6-30603.

14. *NKSS* 6: 107.

takeover of the Rinke school (Hayashi house school) in 1796.[15] The ceremony performed in the imperial palace with libation by the emperor, presumably thought of as official, was also referred to as a *sekiten*, although it too contained no meat offerings.

Where the domain-school ritual veneration of Confucius was concerned, the choice of term for the ceremony was complicated by whether or not domain-school rites were regarded as technically "official." Some daimyo thought of themselves as inheriting the ancient official status of provincial governors and cited themselves in this style in the invocation to Confucius within their domain-school ceremony. Since the ancient provincial governors officiated at the provincial-school *sekiten*, the daimyo may have felt that this designation was appropriate for their domain-school ceremony to venerate Confucius, whether or not it offered meat. Possibly the case of domains such Okayama, where meat was not offered but the ceremony was referred to as a "*sekiten*," were influenced by this consideration.

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[15]. Inuzuka, *Shōheishi*, 150; Ōgōri, *Sekiten shigi*, *kan* 2, "Meimoku" 名目, dates the change from after 1795/viii. Ōgōri identified further legitimation of the use of *sekiten* for the Bakufu's ceremony in the shogun's title "Junna Shōgaku bettō" 淳和奨学別当 (steward of the Junnain and Shōgakuin colleges), a Heian-period office originally concerned with administering the Junnain and Shōgakuin *bessō* for imperial descendants; it was also associated with the ancient University as well as with the Genji kindred and was awarded to the Tokugawa shoguns as an honorary title. The assumption is that Tokugawa occupation of this ancient office legitimated commissioning a *sekiten* among its remits.

The term *sekisai* was not used before the Tokugawa period. It then became adopted widely under the influence of Song and later Chinese practice for a variety of ceremonies, both unofficial and official. Especially early in the Tokugawa period, *sekisai* was used for unofficial ceremonies derived liturgically from Zhu Xi's unofficial retreat liturgy. This ritual, true to its Chinese model, retained flesh offerings (usually in dried or pickled form). In this context, use of the term *sekisai* depended again on the understanding of "official." Thus, despite the fact that by the Genroku period (1688–1704) the Rinke family school liturgy was largely based on Ming official *shidian* versions and enjoyed patronage and support from the shogun, its ceremony had originated from the unofficial Zhu Xi retreat liturgy. Like the school itself, it remained technically unofficial, making the Rinke ritual a *sekisai*. It retained this status until it became an official Bakufu rite in 1796. In his *Shōheishi,* the historian Inuzuka Innan scrupulously referred to the Rinke ceremony as a *sekisai* until it was formally taken over by the Bakufu in that year and thus could properly be called a *sekiten*.[16] It is also possible that some feudal authorities called the ceremonies in their domain schools *sekisai* because, irrespective of the origins of their ceremony or its liturgical character, they still thought of their schools as "private" or unofficial

[16]. Exceptionally, however, this careful scholar abandoned his strict distinction in 1691, when recording Tsunayoshi as watching the performance of a "*sekiten*." Inuzuka, *Shōheishi*, 63.

institutions.[17]

Probably influenced by the long-standing cultural prejudice against animal offerings or possibly in deference to Tokugawa Tsunayoshi's strictures against the sacrifice of living things, sacrifices to Confucius in domain schools and elsewhere tended to omit animal meat offerings, preferring birds, fish, or simply vegetables or seaweed. Perhaps as a refraction of this cultural pressure, the term *sekisai* was widely used generically for a ritual of sacrifice to Confucius that, true to the literal meaning of its title, excluded animal meat in a school, whether a domain school or private institution. An example is Tsu (329,000 *koku*; Yūzōkan, 1820).

Korea, Vietnam, and Ryūkyū

The Korean cult of Confucius generally followed Chinese models, and detailed directives for metropolitan and provincial *sŏkchon* ceremonies are preserved for the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392).[18] In 1373, under the influence of Ming China, the revival of evidently lapsed ceremonies on the first and middle days of the month, however, is recorded under the title of *sŏkch'ae* 釈菜.[19]

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[17]. For a view of domain ceremonies as still "private" at the end of the period, see the return of the Monbushō questionnaire (question on religious observances) from the Mito domain sent in by the "former domain lord," who, nonetheless, referred to the ceremony under a generic title as a *sekiten*: "Because our academy [the Kōdōkan] basically partakes of a private school we do not necessarily follow the court system"; *NKSS* 1: 345.

[18]. Tei Rinshi, *Kōrai shi*, (*kan* 62) 2: 338–44, 349–51.

[19]. Ibid., 2: 344; the liturgical detail does not seem to have been recorded.

During the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910) the Korean cult of Confucius reached a level of formal elaboration unrivaled in East Asia. Though it followed Chinese usage, there was a slight departure from Chinese nomenclature at this time. The dynastic ritual compendium refers to the main grades of sacrifice to Confucius as *sŏkchon*, with the exception of bimonthly services in schools, which are called *chŏngi* 奠儀.[20] Interestingly, however, according to the narrative account, Korean monarchs paid frequent visits to the Sŏnggyun'gwan 成均館 (the state academy), particularly during the years 1475 to 1740, and are recorded on several occasions as "performing a *sŏkch'ae* 釈菜 in person."[21] The liturgical significance of monarchical performance of the rite under this name, usually employed for less dignified, small-scale, intramural, or unofficial versions in China and unusual for an East Asian monarch, requires further research.

In Vietnam, a cult of Confucius was established probably by the twelfth century and appears to have been generally favored by those in political ascendancy thereafter. Regular state sacrifice to venerate Confucius under the name *thích điện* 釈奠 was ordained during the Lê dynasty (1428–1527) from 1435 on.[22] In 1802, the Nguyễn imperial regime renewed its commitment to intensive and up-to-date Sinicization of the polity and administrative structure from its new capital at Phú Xuân 富春 (modern Hué). In 1803, funds were dedicated for the twice-annual celebrations of the full imperial *thích điện* at the

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[20]. Sin Sukchu, *Kukcho orye sŏrye*, *mongnok* 目録, 3a.

[21]. Pak, *Chŭngbo munhŏn pigo*, 3: 388–90.

[22]. Go Shiren, *Dai Etsu shiki zensho*, 584.

main altar of the Confucian shrine.[23]

In the small kingdom of Ryūkyū the performance tradition was ambitious. From 1675 on, the ceremony at the newly constructed Kumemura Shrine was referred to both as a *sekisai* and a *sekiten.*[24] From 1719, it was performed on a monarchical *tailao* scale; this service appears unambiguously to have been classed as a *sekiten*. Confucius's father was also venerated with a *shaolao* 小牢 (lesser beast ceremony, consisting only of sheep and pig) ceremony.[25]

[23]. *Khâm định Đại Nam hội điển sự lệ*, *quyển*, 90: 6a.

[24]. See *Tei Junsoku*, *Ryūkyūkoku shinken Shisei byōki*, *NKSS*; and Tei Junsoku, *Byōgaku kiryaku*. Judging from the paraphernalia mentioned, this ceremony may not have included sacrifice of four-footed animals.

[25]. Xu Baoguang, *Kan'yaku Chūzan denshinroku*, 304; see also the altar diagram in *NKSS* 6: 155.

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