

The Worship of Confucius in Japan

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*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 bibliography is added at the end of each appendix.

* For further details regarding the conventions used in these appendixes, see the section on conventions in the main text of this monograph, 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 chapter number and subsection title, or page reference.

Introduction

The seven online appendixes linked to the main text of *The Worship of Confucius* balance, complement, and fill out the content of the main monograph. They include material which, for reasons of space, it was not possible to include in the main text. Each appendix is intended as a free-standing essay with a list of “works cited.” The essays are ordered below in a sequence that roughly reflects the chronology of their subject matter. They may, however, also be seen as falling into four groups according to their topics, as follows:

(i) Terms and texts

Two appendixes offer definitions and textual clarification on aspects of the main narrative:

“Nomenclature in the East Asian Cult of Confucius” (appendix 1) addresses the problem of the various names by which the main versions of the ceremony have been known over the course of its diffusion across East Asia.

“Notes on the Shōkōkan Documents and the Text of *Zhu Kaitei sekiten gichū*” (appendix 5) offers a summary of the textual history of the important group of documents in the archive of the Tokugawa Museum of Mito. These documents form the basis of the rehearsals of the ritual in 1672–73, and this appendix may be read conjunction with *The Worship of Confucius*, chapter 9: “The Rehearsal of a Foreign Rite.”

(ii) Supplementary liturgical detail

Three essays add to the summary accounts given in the main narrative:

“Liturgical details” (appendix 2) is comprised of three subsections containing background information, description of liturgical protocols, and, in the last case, analysis, concerning three historically widely separated but important versions of the ceremony:

(a) “*Engishiki*: The Ceremony’s Bureaucratic Roots” describes the remarkable bureaucratic collaboration behind the Heian period *sekiten*. It gives an account of the

different government departments called upon to procure the material requirements and services required for the ceremony; to be read in conjunction with *The Worship of Confucius*, chapter 4, subsection: “The Ceremony’s bureaucratic Roots.”

(b) “The Liturgy of the 1670 Rinke *Sekisai*” gives a fuller description than was possible in *The Worship of Confucius* of the rich and eclectic liturgy developed by the Hayashi family for their “house academy” in Edo. Includes the text of the six hymns sung or intoned during the ceremony and draws attention to the combination of “cultural display” and “cosmic ordering” characteristic of the Rinke *sekisai* in the fourth decade since its inauguration in the Shinobugaoka shrine in 1633. To be read in conjunction with *The Worship of Confucius*, chapter 8, subsection: “The *Sekisai* of 1670.”

(c) “The Mid-Nineteenth Century Bakufu *Sekiten*: a Diagram and Directives” describes and analyses one of the last sources for the ceremony as it had evolved by the final years of the Tokugawa regime. It addresses the important question of the extent to what extent the warrior presence in this late version of the ceremony reflects integration of Confucianism into the structure of the Tokugawa Bakufu. It may be read in conjunction with *The Worship of Confucius*, chapter 17, subsection: “Enervation in performance.”

(iii) The ceremony outside the center of power: views and performances

The main text of *The Worship of Confucius* focuses on the patronage and performance of the *sekiten/sekisai* in the elite communities of successive Japanese centers of power at Nara, Heian-kyō, and Edo. During the second encounter of the Tokugawa period, however, concern with the cult of Confucius spread beyond metropolitan elites in Edo into the provinces. Three appendixes explore aspects of the ceremony outside Edo.

“Unofficial and Commoner Worship of Confucius in Tokugawa Japan” (appendix 3) describes the informing ethos and structure of two early but short-lived unofficial versions of the ceremony together with one of mid-Tokugawa date. It explores possible reasons for the failure of these ceremonies to survive or to preserve their unofficial status. Compare *The Worship of Confucius*, chapter 7, subsection: “The Challenge of the *Sekiten* to Feudal Japan,” and chapter 18, subsection: “Unofficial Ceremonies.”

“Early Tokugawa Period Confucian Attitudes to the *Sekiten*” (appendix 4) briefly summarizes views of the ceremony among Confucian thinkers either themselves samurai or associated with the warrior estates of the early Tokugawa period. These views were generally

cautious, but in the case of the last mentioned, Ogyū Sorai, critical of historical developments of the ceremony from the perspective of his authoritarian ideology. May be read in conjunction with *The Worship of Confucius*, chapter 7, subsection: “The Challenge of the *Sekiten* to Feudal Japan,” chapter 12, subsection: “Ogyū Sorai,” chapter 14, subsection: “The Influence of Sorai and Nativism,” and chapter 16, subsection: “Circumstantial Evidence of Sorai’s Influence.”

“Early Warrior Ceremonies” (appendix 6) offers accounts of six early attempts to establish the ceremony in the feudal domains of Nagoya, Okayama, Aizu, Yonezawa, Taku, and Hagi. It describes the varied motivations, pressures encountered, and difficulties which determined success or failure. The complex relationship of these ceremonies to the development of the ceremony at the center of power is explored in the conclusion.

(iv) East Asian comparisons

The importance of China as the source of legitimation for performance and of liturgical detail is a constant point of reference in *The Worship of Confucius*. Sporadic reference was also made there to the experience of the ceremony in other East Asian polities. “The Cult of Confucius in Korea, Vietnam, and Ryūkyū” (appendix 7) offers overviews of the history of ceremonies in these polities. Comparison of the dynamics of these rites draws attention to the distinctive history and character of the cult of Confucius in Japan.

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* 稷奠 (J. *sekiten*; K. *sŏkchŏn*) and *shicai* 稷菜 (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

1. Other names occur less frequently. In the Japanese Kurume domain school, for instance, 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.

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 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 among liturgical specialists 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

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* 稌] (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.

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 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 regular use for official 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” (*zhongsi* 中祀); it involved 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; they were drawn from academic institutions but increasingly from the wider bureaucracy.

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 collège: 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 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* 欽定禮記義疏 (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 at the latest 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* 滄洲精舍齋菜儀 (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 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:

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

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

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

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

- (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
- (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
- (3) The *Yueshuo shicai yi* 月朔釋菜儀 (*shicai* ceremony on the first day of the month), an official, reduced-scale, intramural monthly ceremony (later made 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 term *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 sezarū koto* 稷奠不供肉事 (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

10. For the text of “Biyong shicaiyi,” see Zheng Juzhong, *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*, 123/2a-4a.

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

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

13. Kanō Bunko 6-30603.

14. NKSS 6: 107.

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 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.

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, often 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)

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” 淳和奨学别当 (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 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 犬塚印南 (1750–1830) 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 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 *sōkchon* ceremonies are preserved for the Koryō dynasty

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.

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.

(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* 稊菜.¹⁹

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* 稊菜 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 diện* 稊奠 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 Huế). In 1803, funds were dedicated for the twice-annual celebrations of the full imperial *thích diện* at the 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

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.

20. Sin Sukchu, *Kukcho orye sŏrye, mongnok* 目錄, 3a.

21. Pak, *Chŭngbo munhŏn pigo*, 3: 388-90.

22. Go Shiren, *Dai Etsu shiki zensho*, quǎn 11, 2: 584.

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

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

Abbreviations

- KKS* *Kokusho Kankōkai sōsho* 國書刊行会叢書. 260 vols. Kokusho Kankōkai, 1905–41.
- NKB* *Nihon kyōiku bunko* 日本教育文庫. Dōbunkan ed., 1910–11. Reprint. 13 vols. Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1977.
- NKSS* Monbushō 文部省, comp. *Nihon kyōiku shi shiryō* 日本教育史資料. 10 vols. Fuzan Bō, 1890–92.
- 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.
- WOC* McMullen, James. *The Worship of Confucius in Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020.

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24. See Tei Junsoku, *Ryūkyūkoku shinken Shisei byōki*, 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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APPENDIX 2

Liturgical Details

- (a) *Engishiki*: The Ceremony's Bureaucratic Roots
- (b) The Liturgy of the 1670 Rinke *Sekisai*
- (c) The Mid-Nineteenth Century Bakufu *Sekiten*: A Liturgical Chart and Directives

(a) *Engishiki*: the Ceremony's Bureaucratic Roots

This account fills out the summary in *The Worship of Confucius* chapter 4 and in particular the subsection entitled “The *Sekiten* in the *Engishiki*.” The description of the organizational underpinning to the ritual testifies to the fundamental importance of ritual to the ancient Japanese state and the disciplined and co-ordinated concentration of material goods and co-operation of effort required. Another feature is the hierarchical differentiation in consumption of delicacies at the feasts following the ritual. The great sophistication behind the ceremony also helps explain its hold over the imagination of posterity long after it had ceased to be more than a shadow.

The *Engishiki sekiten* nourishes both the dead and the living, both the spirits of Confucius and his correlates and the living participants in a lengthy ritual. Food and drink are a major concern of the protocols and nicely illustrate the complex bureaucratic coordination behind the rite. Apart from the provision of the victims by the Guards, the most extensive preparations are charged to agencies of the Ministry of the Emperor's Household (Kunaishō 宮内省). A special burden falls on the Sake Office. This palace brewery is required to

produce two *to* 斗 each of sweet and unrefined sake; and three *to* six *shō* 升 of “clear wine” for the sacrificial offering.¹ For the feast, seven *to*, seven *shō* and three *gō* of wine are supplied as “allowances” (*kyūryō* 給料) for participants. It also provides utensils; a “four-footed table”; red-lacquered wine tank; ten bowls; two gilded silver spoons; two lugged brass (白銅) jars; two ewers; two phoenix-headed ewers (set on short-legged tables); two large sake jars and two medium sized jars, all set on a large lacquered table; one tripod vessel (*sōshi* 鎗子); one iron stove, “set on a high table,” a patterned floor cloth; 15 split gourd ladles; one *koku* 石 eight *to* of charcoal. The sake is to be brewed four days before the ceremony, with white rice for the sweet sake; “black rice” for the unrefined sake, the proportions of meal and malt specified for both.² Water for the ceremony is the separate responsibility of the Water Office (主水司 *Shusuishi*): an “official” (*kanjin* 官人) is charged with taking six men and four workmen (*shichō* 仕丁) to draw six *to* of “flower water” for the sacrifice (*matsuri* 祭); and to provide one *shō* 升 of grain (*awa* 粟) and two ceramic bowls (*tōwan* 陶碗).³

Cooked offerings to the spirits are the responsibility of the Bureau of the Palace Kitchen (*Ōiryō* 大炊寮): grain offerings of 1 *shō* 4 *gō* each of rice (*tōbei* 稻米) and millet (*awafurushine* 梁米), for Confucius and Yan Hui; 6 *shō* six *gō* of sorghum dumplings (*kibi no mochi* 稷米) and millet seed (*shōbei* 黍米) for Confucius, Yan Hui and the nine savants; four bamboo-woven rice hampers; one Korean stove, for all eleven venerands. These items are to be conveyed to the “place of sacrifice” by adjudicators (*jō* 判: fourth-rank officers) and scribes (*shijō* 史生), who conduct attendants (*shibu* 使部) from the Palace Kitchen.⁴

Food that does not require cooking, again both offerings to the spirits and sustenance for the participants, was the responsibility of the Office of the Palace Table (*Daizenshiki* 大膳職). This food is supplied in three categories, respectively for: the spirits, the court party, and the lower-ranking participants. For the spirits, specified quantities of: rock salt; dried fish; cut, dried venison; salted deer meat; vinegared fish; vinegared hare; skirt of pork; intestines of

1. One *to* (approx. 4 gallons) was equivalent to 10 *shō* 升; one *shō* to 10 *gō*.

2. *Engishiki*, 890-91.

3. *Ibid.*, 899.

4. *Ibid.*, 801.

deer; pickled spleen; cut dried mutton (venison substituted); dumpling rice; soya beans; sesame seed; dried jujubes; millet; “chestnut yellow;” filberts; wheat germ; devil-lotus germ; pickled garlic; pickled turnip; pickled parsley; pickled mallow; salt; soy; the three victims; venison broth; salted deer meat.⁵ For the banqueting of the court party, the menu has much in common with the *Engishiki*’s menus for generic court “banquets.”⁶ The lavishness here confirms a courtly taste for delicacies (perhaps the target of the protest of Miyoshi Kiyoyuki referred to above).⁷ From the Bureau of the Palace Table came: eastern abalone; thin abalone; Sanuki 佐貫 abalone ([all] skewered and thinly sliced); Awa abalone; salted pressed sweetfish (*ayu* 鮎); roasted *bêche-de-mer*; dried strips of meat; Tsukushi abalone; dried threads of sea-slug flesh; cuttlefish; fire-dried *ayu*; bonito; boiled bonito; miscellaneous thin-sliced dried fish; dried sliced meat; seaweed; sunfish (*fugu* 河豚); purple laver; and God-tree (*mokumen* 木棉).⁸

In greater quantity comes the simpler food for participants in the preceding *mimeisai*. Responsibility is divided between the Bureau of the Palace Table and the Palace Kitchen. From the former comes a menu carefully differentiated by rank of recipient. For the 350 students, simply miscellaneous salted fish; salt; Shu peppers; pickled vegetables; for the 100 ritual officers of “fifth or sixth rank and below” at the ceremony: the above, together with abalone; bonito; soya; vinegar; pickled rocambole; rocambole shoots; garlic; for the two fifth rank celebrants (the Head and Doctor of literature), the above, together with boiled bonito; cuttlefish. Receptacles and utensils are also required: oak-leaf deep trays; trays; gourd ladles; and chopsticks.⁹ Further required from the Office of the Palace Table for unspecified purposes were “bamboo shoots in one two-*shō* parcel; salt; three *shō* of pounded lees.”¹⁰ From the Bureau of the Palace Kitchen comes staple food for the academic community: four *koku* five *to* of rice for 100 officiators and 350 students; an allowance of one *shō* per man. This may have provided for the *momodo no za* stage of the sequence, though the *Engishiki*

5. The list is entitled “supplies for the *sekiten* sacrifice” (*sekiten sairyō* 祇奠祭料).

6. Ibid., 761.

7. See *WOC*, 99.

8. *Engishiki*, 765; identification of *mokumen* is uncertain; possibly *Bombax ceiba* (Indian cotton tree), though its liturgical use here is unclear.

9. Ibid., 765.

10. Ibid., 774.

does not refer to it as such.¹¹ The same Bureau was also charged with providing 390 *kin* 斤 of firewood.¹² These items are to be conveyed to the “place of sacrifice” along with the oblations for the spirits.

(b) The 1670 Rinke Ceremony: Liturgical Summary
(*The Worship of Confucius*, chapter 8)

This ceremony represents the final stage of development of the Rinke school *sekisai* at the shrine on the Shinobugaoka site in Edo before the fifth shogun’s patronage and move to the grander premises at Shōheizaka. It illustrates how far, in just under four decades, the Rinke rite had developed away from its liturgical source, Zhu Xi’s retreat rite. The following account (incorporating some details provided in *The Worship of Confucius*) is based on a document titled *Kōjutsu sekisai ki* 庚戌釋菜記, an unpaginated MS in Naikaku Bunko (no. 19043-218), compiled by, or under the direction of, the second head of the Rinke house school, Hayashi Gahō 林鷺峰 (1618–80). This document is not without problems; for instance it is inconsistent over the music and hymns performed, whether sung or recited, in the ceremony.¹³ Liturgically, it eclectically incorporates liturgical elements from recent official state Ming features, but its sacralization of the exposition and versification phases of the ceremony is derived from Heian practice. With its *gagaku* music inclusion of *sekiten* versification, and exposition has now become a ritual that amply warrants classification as one of “cultural display.” However, it also conveys, for instance through the rhetorical language of the Chinese hymns, and the invocation, the “cosmic ordering” aura of a state

11. Iyanaga, “Kodai no sekiten,” 455.

12. One *kin* is roughly equivalent to one and a third pounds weight.

13. It is unclear whether the hymns were sung or intoned to music in some way. The titles of the hymns listed in the MS differentiate between *qu* 曲 (“pieces of music,” applied only to the pair of hymns greeting and bidding farewell to the spirits) and *ci* 詞 (words; applied to all the other hymns). This form of words might be taken that the first and last hymns were sung, while those intervening were merely recited or intoned to the accompaniment of music. It should be noted that Inuzuka Innan 犬塚印南 (1730–1813), the authoritative historian of the Confucian shrine and its rituals, writing around 1800, subsumed all the verses under the category of *Kashō* 歌章 (song texts), surely implying that they were all sung (Inuzuka, *Shōheishi*, 170). More research is required on this point.

ceremony. The hymns appear to be adopted from the official metropolitan Ming ceremony.¹⁴ Tentative translations of these allusive texts are included in the following account.

First, all involved in the ceremony proceed through the Apricot Altar Gate (Kyōdan mon 杏壇門) of the shrine and stand in rows in due order in the court. The Director of the Ceremony (*Shōgi* 掌儀) then ascends to the sanctuary and conducts an inspection. The manner of his ascent involves the special shuffling gate termed “bringing the feet together” (specified in the *Liji*).¹⁵ Next, the “Welcomer of the Spirits” ascends to the sanctuary and, standing beneath the inner steps, the Ming hymn (*kashō* 歌章) “Music to welcome the spirits” (C. Yingshen qu; J. Geishin kyoku 迎神曲) is chanted, appropriately to the *gagaku* piece, “Crossing the Heavens music” (Etenraku 越天樂).¹⁶

How great the Sage Confucius!	大哉孔聖
We revere the virtue of his Way	道德尊崇
It sustains the kingly transformations.	維持王化
The people regard him as their patriarch.	斯民是宗
Our ceremonial offerings are constant	典祀有常
They are pure and abundant.	精純並隆
Do you Spirits come	神其來格
Ah, how glorious, the Sagely presence!	於昭聖容. ¹⁷

14. The document contains a list of the titles of six Chinese eight-line verses. Each title bears an annotation of the title of Chinese music played in accompaniment cited from a text referred to as *Guangdong zhi* 廣東志. These Chinese titles resemble those specified in Li Zhizao, *Pangong liyue shu*, *juan* 3: 10a-17b, 651-85-88. For background information on the music associated with the Chinese performance of the *shidian* ceremony, see Lam, “Musical Confucianism.” Lam describes “standardized and categorized movements [which] render the Ming dynasty *ji Kong yuewu* 祭孔樂舞 (Music and dance of the sacrifice to Confucius) an objectifiable and analyzable set of songs” (p. 150). For a musical notation of the Ming version of the first hymn transcribed below, see *ibid.* 149. For Li Zhizao’s views on Confucian music more generally, see *ibid.*, 152-54.

15. In Chinese, *juzu* 聚足; See *Liji*, “Quli” 曲禮; *Li chi*, tr. Legge, 1: 72; *Raiki* 1: 127.

16. The *Guangdong zhi* cites “Xianhe” 咸和 as the music here.

17. The text of the hymns is the same, bar minor variants, as that provided by Li Dongyang, *Da Ming huidian*, *juan* 91, 23b-24b; 1444.

The Director of the Ceremony now lifts the curtain in front of the image of the Sage. He, the Liturgist, and the Controller of the Wine Vessel take up their positions in the sanctuary. The Director of the Ceremony descends to the court below and commands the First Sacrificing Officer to offer the silk banner. This he does, ascending the lacquer staircase within the sanctuary to the recitation of the hymn “Words to offer the banner” (C. *Dianbo ci*; J. *Tenpaku shi* 奠帛詞):

Since the birth of the people	自生民来
Who approaches his splendor?	誰底其盛
The Master is spirit and intelligence	維師神明
He surpasses earlier sages	度越前聖
The sacred grain and cloth are all ready	粢帛俱成
The manner of the ritual is laudable	礼容斯称
The millet and grain are not fragrant	黍稷非馨
This is just the virtue of the spirits.	維神之德 ¹⁸

He descends, lights incense on the incense table, makes a quadruple bow in the Ming manner and adopts a position on the east side of the hall, facing west.

The ceremony proceeds to the phase of offering the food sacrifices. The Second Libationer (*aken* 亜献) ascends to the top of the lacquer steps, the Welcomer of the Spirits takes up a position by the side of the steps and the offerings are handed up and placed on the altar in front of the images. Meanwhile the music “Congratulatory cloud” (Kyōunraku 慶雲樂) is played.

The offerings of food completed, the ceremony proceeds to the libations themselves. The First Sacrificing Officer rises, descends to the court, washes the goblet, and re-ascends to the sanctuary. The goblet itself is carried by a marshall who takes it to the “ox-shaped wine vessel” on the right of the lacquer steps. There, it is filled by the Superintendent of the Wine

18. Hayashi Gahō’s 1670 *Kōju sekisaiki* directives themselves do not specify a hymn at this stage though later directives do. However, this hymn is listed as “Words to offer the banner” in the “separate sheet” of the MS titled as above, along with music from *Guangdong zhi* titled “Ninghe” 寧和. In subsequent versions of the Rinke ceremony, the *gagaku* music at this point was “Gosōgaku” 五常樂 (Inuzuka, *Shōheishi*, 170).

Vessel. The first libationer ascends and offers the goblet. Meanwhile, the Welcomer of the Spirit intones the “First offering words” (C. *Chuxian ci*; J. *Shoken shi*, 初獻詞) to the accompaniment of the *gagaku* piece “The music of the five norms” (Gosōgaku 五常樂):

How great! The Sage-king	大哉聖王
He inspires virtue, filling the Heavens	実天生德
We make music to reverence him.	作樂以崇
In due season, our worship never wearies,	時祀無斁
Fragrant is the pure wine.	清酏維馨
Our auspicious offerings are the finest	嘉牲孔碩
We make sacrifice of them to the Spirit Intelligences.	薦羞神明
We pray you, illumine us with your presence.	庶幾昭格 ¹⁹

The First Sacrificing Officer now goes to the incense table and, facing north, bows twice. The invocation to Confucius, but also naming the four correlates and six secondary venerands, is read out by the Invocationer. The text is based on the Ming Hongwu 洪武 period (1368–98) version, invokes Confucius as a cosmic figure, transcending time, compiler of the invariable canon.²⁰ Together with him, greater numbers of Confucian and Neo-Confucian spirits than hitherto venerated on Japanese soil were listed, addressed with their most exalted and sonorous titles of nobility.

In the tenth year of Kanbun [1670], the eighth month and a *hinoto* day, Rin Jo 林恕, scholar of the Kōbun-in, respectfully makes sacrifice to the Most Complete and Perfect Sage, King of Culture Universal 大成至聖文宣王:

O king,²¹ your virtue pervades Heaven and Earth; your Way transcends past and present; you compiled the Six Classics; you bequeathed a pattern for ten thousand generations. Respectfully, with a banner of silk and fermented wine, with grain filling the various vessels, I offer the ancient sacrifices and set forth the clarion

19. *The Guangdong zhi* cites “Ninghe” as the music here.

20. Li Dongyang. *Da Ming huidian*, juan 91, 22b-23a; 1443-44.

21. The wording “O King” (*wei wang* 惟王) preserves the more grandiose status of the Sage of the Hongwu version (predating the Jiajing reform). As the *Da Ming huidian* notes, this was subsequently changed to the more modest “O teacher” (*wei shi* 惟師); *ibid.* 1443, 23a; 1444.

offerings. Do you, with, as correlates, the Duke of the State of Yan, Alternate Sage (Yan guo fu sheng gong 兗国復聖公 [Yan Hui]); the Duke of the State of Cheng, Kindred of the Sage (Cheng Guo shou sheng gong 郕国宗聖公 [Zeng zi 曾子]); Duke of the State of Yi, Narrator of the Sage (Yi Guo shu sheng gong 沂国述聖公 [Zi Si 子思]); and Duke of the State of Zou and Second to the Sage (Zou Guo A Sheng gong 鄒 国亞 聖公 [Mencius]) together with the wooden tablets of the ten savants, and exhibiting picture images of the former worthies and former Confucians to East and West, and with, as secondary venerands (*jūshi* 從祀), Duke Zhou Yuan 周元公 [Dunyi], Duke Cheng Zhun 程純公 [Mingdao], Duke Cheng Zheng 程正公, [Yiquan] Shao Kangjie 邵康節 and Duke of Culture Zhu 朱文公 [Zhu Xi], please partake.²²

Following this “Invocation,” there comes a second address; an “announcement” (*kokubun* 告文), composed by Gahō in highly wrought prose, reports the completion of the historiographical project.²³ Next, the hymn recited here “Words for the second offering” (C. *Yaxian ci*; J. *Aken shi* 亜献詞) is accompanied by the *gagaku* music “Great Peace” (Taiheiraku 太平樂).²⁴

The hundred kings regard you as exemplar	百王宗師
The people and the laws of things	生民物軌
You look down upon with vast gaze	瞻之洋洋
How the spirits become calm!	神其寧止
We pour wine in golden cups	酌彼金罍
How pure and beautiful!	維清且旨

22. Inuzuka, *Shōheishi*, 169-70; the omission of the title of “Duke” for Shao Yong is original.

21. Ibid., 166; text in Hayashi, *Kōju sekisaiki*.

24. The *Guangdong zhi* cites “Jinghe” 景和; and places hymn this as accompanying the third libation; the *Da Ming huidian* directives, however, consistently with its wording, identifies this hymn as accompanying “Clearing the offerings.”

Ascending, we offer it thrice

登獻維三

Ah! We complete the ritual.²⁵

於嘻成禮²⁶

The third sacrifice follows, the hymn “Last offering words” (C. Zhongxian ci; J. Shūken shi 終獻詞) accompanied by the *gagaku* music of “Felicitous virtue” (Keitokugaku 慶德樂).²⁷

The victims and the jars of wine are before us

牲象在前

The *dou* and *bian* in rows

豆籩在列

By offerings, by oblations

以享以薦

Not only fragrant, not only pure

既芬既潔

The ritual is done, the music is complete

禮成樂備

Men are in harmony; the spirits are glad

人和神悅

Sacrificing, we receive good fortune

祭則受福

In obedience, without transgression.²⁸

卒適無越

Next, sacrifices are offered to the four correlates by specially appointed minor oblation officers (*bunken* 分獻), followed by offerings to the six secondary venerands by minor offerers (*bunten* 分奠). The ceremony, still within the sanctuary, then enters the phase of the “exposition of the classics” and “reading of the verses.” A reading desk is produced and the lecturer makes his exposition. There then follows a series of five questions and answers, the respondent being handed a mace by a student. The questions on this occasion were concerned with the different theories on the date and circumstance of Confucius’ birth. Like the year 1670, this was believed to have fallen in a *kōjutsu* year of the calendrical cycle. The last question raised the problem of miraculous events surrounding Confucius’ birth.

25. In *Da Ming huidian* (91/24b, 1444) this hymn is ascribed to the “Clearing the offerings” phase; Hayashi, *Kōju sekisaiki*, gives it the title “Last sacrifice text” and does not specify a text for “Clearing the paraphernalia,” merely prescribing “Ryōō.” Subsequently, however, Rinke practice reverted to the Ming procedure.

26. The music is cited as Jinghe 景和 in the Chinese separate list.

27. The music is cited as “Xianhe” 咸和 in the separate list. Inuzuka (*Shōheishi*, 166) cites it as “Kōtokugaku” 廣德樂.

28. Later Rinke practice used this hymn to accompany “Clearing the oblations” and repeated the immediately preceding hymn for the third sacrifice.

Question: We have heard in detail about the date of Confucius' birth. I still harbor doubt about it. I have heard it said that when Confucius was about to be born, a unicorn appeared and disgorged a jade tablet at Queli 闕里; also, that on the evening of his birth, two dragons encircled the chamber and the five stars fell into the garden. Is this indeed true? "The Sage did not speak of wonders."²⁹ My doubt is that this is the indulgent talk of later, fanciful men. Such claims proceed from too great a respect and belief in Confucius. However, Hu Wufeng 胡五峯 [1105–61], a great Confucian, compiled a record of them. So, is there a principle behind them? If one follows them, one runs the risk of error; if one disbelieves them, it looks like disrespect. Credulity and lack of respect provide enlightenment with difficulty. I request to hear the arguments and to resolve the doubts of the unlearned.

Gahō's triumphalist reply cited the canon to expound the privileged status not only of Confucius but also of Zhu Xi and the present moment in world history:

There are abnormal events and there are abnormal men. Therefore, the *Zhong Yong* [Doctrine of the Mean] says: 'When a nation or family is about to flourish, there are sure to be happy omens.'³⁰ Therefore, when a sage or worthy is born, in all cases there are wonderful omens.³¹

After the last response, a desk bearing two maces and the poems is placed in front of the incense table. A reader sits beside the incense table and the Lecturer announces the theme "compose on autumn grains in [the semi-mythical emperor] Shun's paddy fields" 賦舜田秋穀. Poems by thirty participants, beginning with Gahō himself, are read in succession in the presence of the spirits and offerings. Gahō's own poem reads:

Ploughs and plough shares in past time consorted with elephants and birds,
High Heaven in former times received rituals by the rice fields of all directions,
The Most Honored does not forget the harvest crops on Mt Li,
Amongst the twelve emblems are grains of rice in autumn.³²

29. *Analects* 7: 20; *CC* 1: 201.

30. *Doctrine of the Mean* 24; *CC* I: 417.

31. Sudō, *Kinsei Nihon no sekiten*, 24-25.

32. Hayashi, *Kōju sekisaiki*. 耒耜曾同象鳥遊/旻天于往事四疇/至尊不忘歷山稼/十二章中粉米秋. The ruling Japanese sovereign is here implicitly compared with the paragon Chinese emperor Shun.

With this, the proceedings move towards their conclusion with the “clearing of the offerings”. The reader and lecturer resume their positions; the text stand is removed. Meanwhile, “The Majestic King” (Ryōōgaku 隆王樂) music is played. Finally, at the bidding of the Director of the Ceremony, all participants stand; at a second bidding, all make the standing bow with hands on knees (*kikkyū* 鞠躬).³³ A “Music to bid farewell to the spirits” (C. Songshen qu; J. Sōshinkyoku 送神曲) hymn to the spirits is chanted to the music of “Etenraku”:

It has majesty, the palace of learning	有嚴學宮
From the four directions they come in veneration	四方來宗
Respectful and reverent are our acts of worship	恪恭祀事
The dignity of our demeanor is harmonious	威儀雍雍
Our offerings are received with fragrance	歆茲維馨
The spirits are satisfied and return	神馭還復
Our bright sacrifice is now over	明禋斯畢
A hundred blessings are all received. ³⁴	咸膺百福

The curtain is lowered, and, with all descending in order into the court, the ceremony ends. After the completion of the ceremony, the banner was buried “according to precedent,” and the sacrificial paraphernalia stored away. At supper time, the sacrificial wine was drunk, “again according to precedent.”³⁵

In summary, the incorporation of features from the Ming metropolitan state ceremony such as the hymns, invocation, and quadruple bow eclectically combined with features borrowed from the ancient state *Engishiki* tradition confirms the intention of the Rinke to create a ceremony at their house school that had the trappings and dignity of a Chinese style

33. Illustrated in *NKSS* 6: 20.

34. The music is cited as “Xianwa” in the MS list.

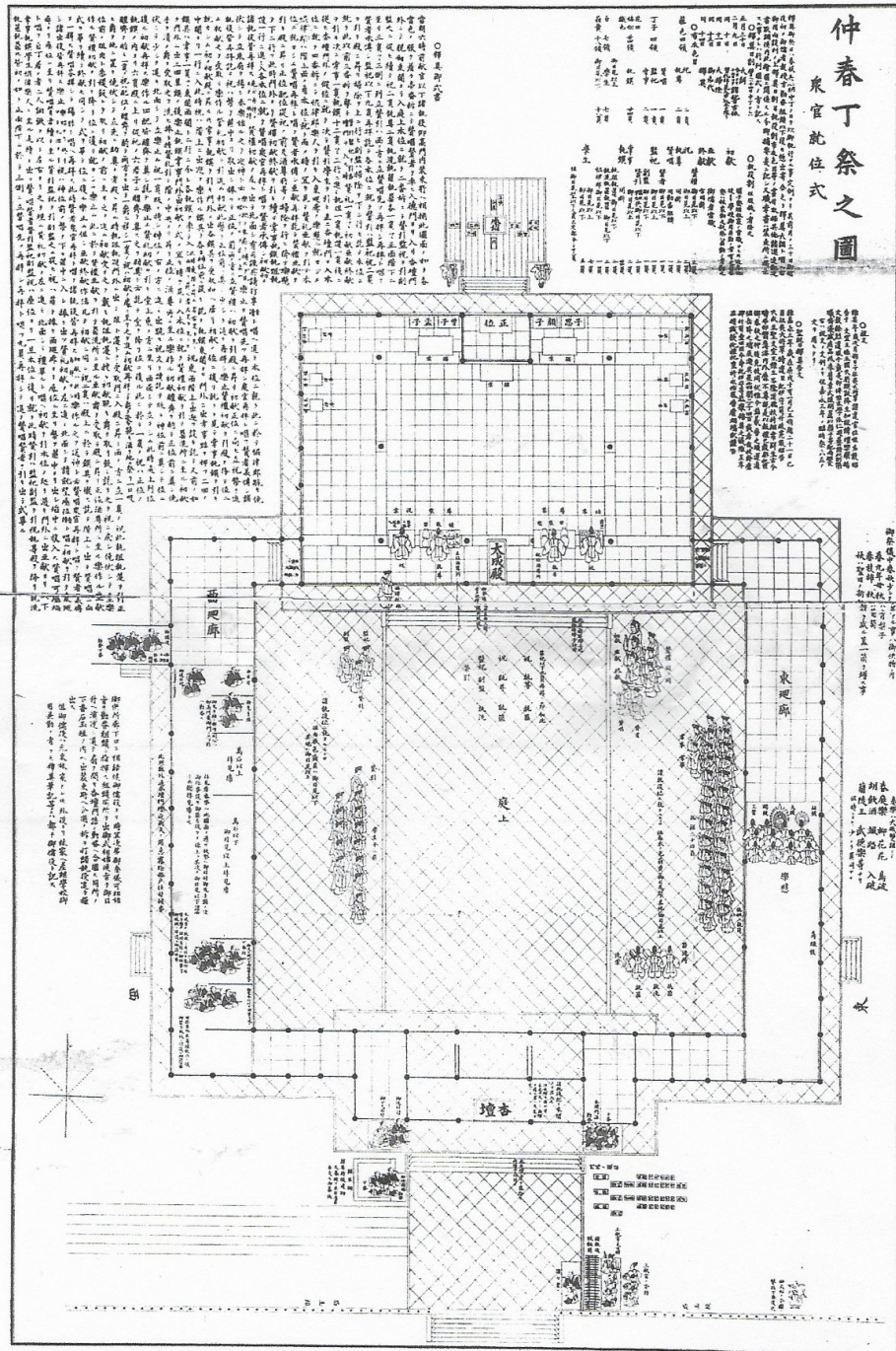
35. In a minor variant, Inuzuka, *Shōheishi*, 174 indicates that both bolt and invocation were “burned in a hearth.” For the drinking of the auspicious wine, see Hayashi, *Kokushikan nichiroku*, 949; entry for 1670/viii/3, 949. The Zhu Xi “retreat” directives specify sacrificial wine, but not whether or when what remained after the libation should be drunk by the participants. Later Rinke practice was changed to include “drinking the auspicious [wine]” during the sacrificial ceremony itself, following *Da Tang Kaiyuan li*; *juan* 54; 7a; 301; *Engishiki*, 521; or contemporary Ming practice; Li Zhizao, *Pangong liyue shu*, *juan* 3:15b; 651-87. See Inuzuka, *Shōheishi*, 167-68.

state rite. Taken with the content of the exposition, this ceremony lifted Confucius to the status of a cosmic Sage, the revealer and agent of the moral basis of the social order. This should be seen as an attempt to confer on their *sekisai* a “cosmic ordering” status congruent with its standing as the Chinese-style, at least semi-official performance of Confucian ritual in the military capital. At the same time, and in a different direction, however, they fashioned their *sekisai* to be quite different from any recent Chinese counterpart. This was a distinctively Japanese ceremony and would have appeared strange to a Chinese observer. Heian period *gagaku*, rather than the music prescribed for the Ming version of the ceremony, was performed to accompany the hymns.³⁶ Most saliently, however, the liturgy had a cultural component that drew on indigenous Heian tradition. Distinctively, it placed a lecture and versification within the sacrificial phase of the ceremony, performed in the sanctuary of the hall in the presence of the spirits before the final lowering of the curtain. In the manner of the *Hitomaro eigu*, the poems were thus sacrificial.³⁷ The Rinke were purveyors of the always prestigious tradition of Chinese learning and cultural activity, and their liturgically rich ceremony was at once cultural spectacle and sacred cultural rite. In this way, they muted any political charge of this Confucian ritual and its potential to sacralise a Chinese-style relationship between aspiring officials and an autocratic monarch. This skilfully eclectic, depoliticized Rinke *sekisai* became a popular event in the Edo calendar.

36. The “separate sheet” list of hymns cites a text entitled *Guangdong zhi* 廣東志, as specifying “Xianhe” 咸和 as “Ninghe” 寧和 and Jinghe 景和 as the music to accompany the hymns. This list is similar, though slightly variant, to those mentioned in the directives for the ceremony in Li Zhizao’s *Pangong liyue shu*, 3/12b-17a.

37. For the *Hitomaro eigu*, see *WOC*, 120.

(c) The Mid-Nineteenth Century Bakufu *Sekiten*: A Liturgical Diagram and Directives (*The Worship of Confucius*, chapter 17)



2.1. "The Mid-Spring *Hinoto* Sacrifice: Protocol for the Positions of Officers." Printed Liturgical chart from *Kyū Bakufu Seidō sekiten zu* (Meiji period). Courtesy of the National Archives of Japan.

The 1850 Liturgical Diagram

The diagram (or chart) appears to be among the last substantial liturgical texts produced in connection with the cult of Confucius in the pre-Restoration period. It is also among the most elaborate and informative extant “Sekiten zu”. The numerous inserted annotations include an invocation to Confucius dated 1850/xii/21 in a ceremony celebrating the 2,400th anniversary of his birth, providing a *terminus post quem* for the document. The chart is part of a short series of similar fold-out diagrams contained in volume 10 of the *Nihon kyōiku shi shiryō* (NKSS) showing aspects of the ceremony at the Bakufu College. Two other related charts depict the ceremony for delivering “horse money” by proxy on the eve of the ceremony and the order of the procession into the shrine precinct on the day of the ceremony itself. In their present form, these charts are the product of Western printing technology and their proximate creation may date from the years of compilation of NKSS beginning from February 1883. However, they clearly represent intimate knowledge of the liturgical history of the Bakufu College. Further research, however, is needed to uncover when and by whom they were first drawn up.

The diagram depicts ceremony as performed between the Kansei liturgical reform and the Restoration. It charts the positions of participants assembled within the precincts of the Confucian shrine for the ceremony. It is particularly valuable in revealing developments in the final decades of the pre-Restoration ceremony. It shows the *Taiseiden*, the court and east and west cloisters to the south down to the “Apricot Altar Gate” and its immediate surroundings, including the “place where the performers divest their swords” (*shoshitsuyaku datsuken sho* 諸執役脱剣所). Against the north wall and of the *Taiseiden* itself is the central altar to Confucius; on the external north wall is the “burial pit” (*eikan* 瘞塹) where the invocation is to be buried; to left and right on the same axis as the main altar are altars to the four correlates facing south with tables for offerings in front. The “hosts” for the six Neo-Confucian gentlemen are represented, three each of the east and west walls of the sanctuary facing inwards.³⁸

38. The list of “secondary venerands” (*congshi* 從祀) is: Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–73), Zhang Zai 張載 (1021–77), the Cheng 程 brothers, Mingdao 明道 (1032–86) and Yichuan 伊川 (1033–1107), Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011–77) and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200).

The diagram both commemorates the anniversary of Confucius's birth and provides practical directives for the ceremony. It is populated with nearly one hundred miniature figures of the performers and others present. These figures are dressed for their roles. Those in the ceremony proper, from the sacrificers down to the ushers and handlers of paraphernalia, wear Heian-style dress. The three sacrificers themselves wear imperial court robes and hats with tails (*ken'ei* 卷纓); they hold batons of office (*kotsu* 笏); other participants are more modestly dressed. In the western cloisters on the western (left) side are seated participants instantly identifiable as of samurai status bearing swords and wearing black *haori* 羽織. The eastern cloister is occupied by musicians.

The plan bears numerous inset passages of text which annotate the roles and functions of the figures and supply other details. On the top right is a schedule of dates relating to preparations for the ritual. The main performers are identified by liturgical role and their status-indicated by the color of their vestments. On the left top corner and continuing down the left side of the diagram is a summary account of the order of service, structurally a redaction of the *Engishiki* version, presented in a simplified Japanese paraphrase of the order of service for the day of the ceremony. The directives are adapted to the physical site of the *Taiseiden* and court and cloisters of the rebuilt Bakufu College precinct.

The order of service may be briefly recapitulated here. The directives prescribe use of a wooden clapper (*ki* 柶) to signal the early stages of the proceedings. At the fourth clapper, the sacrificers enter, last to be led to their positions. The primary gesture of mutual respect throughout the ceremony adopted on the instruction of the herald is two bows (*saihai* 再拝). It is exchanged among all present first when the preparatory ritual sweeping of the precinct is complete and all are in position. The “welcome of the spirits” (*geishin* 迎神) is accompanied by music, but no hymn is specified. Unspecified music also accompanies the major steps of the liturgy, and the start and end of each piece is signaled with the raising and lowering of a red fan by the “harmonizer.” Though there is no special list of offerings, the directives refer to “pure wine” and to “meat on trays and sacred grain and wine” (*so'niku tenshokuhan* 俎肉黍稷飯) as distributed towards the end of the ceremony.

The central liturgical acts are initiated beginning with the offering of the banner and are introduced with the locution, apparently uttered in Chinese by the herald; “the officers are respectfully ready; I beg you to proceed” (*yousi jinju qing xing shishi* 有司謹具請行事). Next follow the *Engishiki* procedures: offering of the banner to the main altar by the first

sacrificer, the offering of a goblet of wine, the reading of the invocation; offering of wine to the four correlates and six gentlemen. The cycle is then repeated by the second and third sacrificers. This complete, spirits are bidden farewell (*sōshin* 送神), the first sacrificer drinks the sacred wine, the oblations are distributed, and the directive to end the ceremony is read out by the herald, again in Chinese: “I beg you to proceed to the site of sacrificial burial (*qing jiu wangyiwei* 請就望瘞位). The celebrants proceed to the burial pit behind the north wall of the *Taiseiden*. There, two men “wearing white” 白丁 (the color worn by inferior servants) “bury the banner with hoes and spades from right and left.” The party then returns to below the sanctuary, exchanges bows, and the ceremony concludes.

Color, dress, and liturgical role

It is axiomatic that a ceremony of this sort is metaphysical theatre. In the words of Clifford Geertz that inform the assumptions behind this book, this ceremony is “theatre designed to express a view of the ultimate nature of reality and, at the same time, to shape the existing conditions of life to be consonant with that reality; that is, theatre to present an ontology and, by presenting it, to make it happen – make it actual.”³⁹ The chart may, therefore, be interrogated concerning the understanding of Confucianism and its place in the wider society of those who designed and staged this ceremony.

It is immediately obvious that, despite the Chinese origin of the ceremony, the diagram does not represent a purely Confucian world; the presence of men dressed as Japanese warriors together with others attired in the style of the Heian pre-feudal state signifies a duality. The chart depicts the interface between two worlds: on one hand the academic Confucian world of the Bakufu College and on the other the feudal warrior Bakufu household and its officials in which the Bakufu College was embedded. This structure evokes the theme of *The Worship of Confucius*, chapter 16: “The Shogun’s rite: adapting to a Warriors’ World,” which explores the accommodation or adjustment of the *Engishiki* ceremony to the world of late feudal Japan and particularly to the Bakufu household. It is argued here that the diagram presents a furthering of the adaptation of the rite to the warrior

39. Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State*, 104.

world described in that chapter. At the same time, analysis suggests a perpetuation of the persistent ambivalence of Japanese high authority to the *sekiten* ceremony.

The intrusion of the hierarchical and ascriptive military world of the Bakufu into the Confucian Bakufu College is revealed by several features of the diagram. First, the casting of the performers draws on the Bakufu feudal household, who intrude aspects of the structure of the late feudal warrior estate rather than the academic hierarchy within the Confucian college. Ideally, in the context of an institution dedicated to Confucian learning, the status of participants should represent a theatrical version of a normative Confucian order; external status, as Zhu Shunshui had long before argued, should be irrelevant, or at least not determinative.⁴⁰ In a Confucian community, liturgical roles should not be determined by external hereditary rank but based on achievement in the mastery of Confucianism. The College community was, however, too small to provide adequate numbers of performers for this elaborate ceremony; it had to draw on men whose main status lay outside their world and within the hereditarily ordered Bakufu.

This debt of the ceremony to Bakufu personnel both metaphorically and literally colored the ceremony: the qualification for a given liturgical role appears to be external Bakufu inherited status rather than Confucian learning. Hereditary ascription is privileged over academic achievement. The main manifestation of this principle is the distinction among the participants between those of “audience status” (the privilege of audience with the shogun) and those below, a division extrinsic to the Confucian world view. This distinction is marked in the diagram by annotation of liturgical roles in terms of status within the feudal vassal corps. But it is also indicated by the specific colors of the robes worn by the various participants that indicate their rank.⁴¹ Thus the senior liturgical players such as invocationer (*kanshi*, *shōji*) are of audience status, and wear *chōji* (dull yellowish red). The herald (*sanshō* 賛唱), who provides oral instructions to the senior participants, is similarly of audience status and wears the same color. Also of audience status are the invocationer and bearer of the beaker (*zun* 尊); they wear light purple (*fuji* 藤). On the other hand, the men who handle other paraphernalia do not have audience status, and wear other colors: “blue” (*hanada* 花田),

40. See *WOC*, 210.

41. These hierarchical distinctions appear to have replaced the Kansei reform purely liturgical hierarchies among the performers. Kansei reform colors: blue (*hanada* 花田), interwoven black and yellow (*mokuran* 木欄), light purple (*fuji* 藤), dull yellowish red (*chōji* 丁子).

“pink” (*umematsu* 梅松), or “dark gray” (*tetsuiro* 鉄色). Thus, the colors worn by participants in the ceremony visually affirm the Bakufu hierarchical order. In that sense, this version of the ceremony could be said to confer a Confucian sacralization on the hereditary status system of the Tokugawa Bakufu. It did not challenge but rather offered a distorted Confucian sacralization of that system.⁴²

Warriors in the Western cloister

In addition to intruding its status system, the warrior estate also had a further important intrusive presence at the ceremony. The chart depicts representatives of the Bakufu in warrior dress, mainly clustered in the western cloister. What are they doing? First it may be noted that the west cloister was an important area of the precinct in the traditional design of the Confucian shrine. In the Rinke and Zhu Shunshui versions of the liturgy it had housed the altars of secondary venerands. Like the Eastern cloister which housed the musicians who celebrated the cosmic role and associations of the ceremony, it was traditionally an extension of the sacred space of the sanctuary. Those who occupied it, therefore, derived a certain dignity in the Confucian world of the ceremony from their position. Their position may be described as liminal.

Within their position in the western cloister, the warriors are accommodated in an order and granted liminal space that symbolically reflects the Bakufu’s ambivalent attitude towards the ceremony and more broadly to Confucianism. Their position is liminal. On the one hand their presence acknowledges the ceremony and the teaching that it sacralises as an official function and ornament of the Tokugawa state, commissioned by its leader, the shogun and subject to his authority and discipline; on the other hand, their liminal seating implicitly minimalizes the potential impact or appeal and any subversive influence that a celebration of Confucian values might pose.

The allocation of space to representatives of the warrior estate in the Western cloister was segregated as follows:

42. This phenomenon invites comparison with the intrusion of audience distinction into the wooden trays on which food is served in the Kansei reform post-ceremony feast described in *WOC*, 360-61.

- i. *Metsuke* (surveillance officers): at the north end of the cloister, closest to the sanctuary, is the party of surveillance officers, the *ōmetsuke* (chief surveillance officer) accompanied by two *kachi metsuke* 徒目付 (junior surveillance officers). The function of these men is implicitly different from that of the *kanshi* 監祀 (overseer of sacrifice), an *Engishiki* role concerned with correct liturgical detail; the *metsuke* represent the external feudal authority to which the ceremony and its values are implicitly subordinated.
- ii. *Sakitekashira* 先手頭 (head of the vanguard) with *yoriki* 与力 (constables), charged with guard duties at the external entrances to the precinct. Again, the presence of this military officer symbolizes the embedding of the ceremony in a military order.
- iii. Next, minimal space for spectating is specified for daimyo with an assessed income of 10,000 *koku* or above; those of under 10,000, but with the privilege of audience, seated close to the *Taiseiden*.⁴³
- iv. Then, segregated from their wealthier colleagues but accorded more than twice as much space, are shogunal vassals with incomes lower than 10,000 *koku* but above *metsuke* [in rank].
- v. The head of works *go daiku kashira* 御大工頭 and his subordinates, responsible for the physical plant.
- vi. Finally, a group under the caption *o-tatami bugyō* 御畳奉行 shogun's magistrate for tatami and officers of that department.

One other member of the military estate is present in the Western cloisters and requires mention. At an external entrance at the north end of the west cloister is positioned a warrior official under the title of “the shogun’s Confucian officer” (*Go Juyaku* 御儒役), apparently a warrior seconded from Bakufu administration to assist the head of the Bakufu College, the head of the Gakumonjo. An inset text assigns a significant role to this official:

From the Confucian officer an indication is made of the opportune moment to commence the sacrificial ceremony to the head duty guard. The head duty guard

43. The daimyo are also given the opportunity to express their allegiance through a ceremony of presenting gifts on the eve of the ceremony.

leaves where they are and passes on this message to the surveillance officer. He opens his fan and signals to a duty guard. A junior guard goes out thence from the stone jade fence [sc, perimeter fence] to the dressing room and sounds a signal clapper, and the performers in due time go forth.

Thus, the *sekiten* ceremony depends for its start on the action of a warrior official, himself liminally located at the border of the sacred space. This man plays a symbolic and essential role in the proceeding not passively as a spectator, but at the very center of the ritual.

Perhaps the most striking feature of these arrangements overall is the limited space allocated to ranking warriors. This contrasts with the height of popularity of the Rinke ceremony during the period of the fifth shogun's patronage and the resulting overcrowding. Since the time of the eighth shogun, however, the ceremony had attracted diminishing attention from the Edo feudal elite. A lack of interest in the mid-nineteenth century on the part of the elite is suggested also by a note inset in the present diagram that re-establishes a distinction between the spring and autumn ceremonies introduced under Tsunayoshi. It indicates that at the autumn ceremony the *metsuke* and others are "moved up" to make room to allow for lower-ranking spectators. No provision at all for daimyo spectators is made but "Bakufu vassals below audience status and samurai of the domains generally are allowed space for spectating." The apparent failure of the autumn ceremony to accommodate the elite at the ceremony hardly suggests leaders of the Bakufu community eager for association with the Confucian tradition.

A warrior first sacrifice

The warriors clustered in or just outside in the western cloister symbolize the external socio-political framework within which the post-Kansei reform ceremony is performed. It is unclear at the present stage of research when they were introduced into the ceremony, but it seems likely that this happened as a consequence of the Kansei reform's transformation of the Rinke house school into a state institution. There is, however, one important development documented in the diagram that has explicitly a more recent origin and suggests a significant post-reform change in the relationship of the Bakufu College to the Tokugawa bureaucracy: a relationship of participation within the very center of the liturgy rather than supervision from a liminal or external position. The warrior officer concerned is named as the "Concurrent

officer for school business” (*Gakkō goyō kenkin* 学校御用兼勤). His role in the ceremony is prescribed in an annotation to the role of first sacrificer at the top right of the diagram:

The libationer at the [School for] the Sons of State [*sc.* Bakufu College] is a regular office of the Hayashi family, but in recent years from another office we also have the “Concurrent officer for school business.” With regard to the spring sacrifice, the Rinke performs it; but with regard to the autumn sacrifice, the concurrent officer does so.

In other words, the leading liturgical role in the autumn *sekiten* is performed by an outsider rather than a traditional Rinke “head” of the College

Who was this official and what does his apparent supplanting of the Hayashi in the principal liturgical duty of the autumn *sekiten* mean in the longer perspective of *sekiten* history or indeed of Confucianism in Japan? The office is that of *gakumonjo goyō*, also referred to as *sōkyō* 惣教 (manager of teaching); its remit is defined by Hashimoto Akihito 橋本昭彦, historian of the Bakufu College, as one of “several individuals” who “assist the Head of the University (*Gakutō* 学頭) and participate in the administration of the College.”⁴⁴ The College log confirms that the incumbent of this office at first occasionally, but by mid-century regularly, performed the role of first sacrificer.

What is distinctive about this office, however, is that it was several times staffed by a man concurrently a member of the shogunal bureaucracy rather than a regular staff member of the college. An early instance of this is recorded in the Bakufu College log on 1814/viii/19, when the *Gakumonjo goyō* Tsukushi Ukon 筑紫右近, concurrently “mid-castle page” (*nakaoku koshō* 中奥小性), performed the duty of “first sacrifice.” Not much appears to be known about this man.⁴⁵ However, the shogun’s “specially commissioned” official for the role in the anniversary ceremony of 1850, the Rinke head being in mourning, was Tsutsui Masanori, Kii no kami 筒井政則憲 (1778–1859), an important and versatile Bakufu official of *hatamoto* status who combined the office of *gakumonjo goyō* concurrently with the important office of *rusui* 留守居 (secretary) in the shogunal castle, and finally in 1854 was

44. Hashimoto, *Shōheizaka gakumonjo nikki*, 3: 25.

45. *Ibid.*, 1: 43.

appointed chief surveillance officer *ōmetsuke*.⁴⁶ Tsutsui's career intersected with the Bakufu policy concerns beyond Confucianism. His appointment appears consistent with the broadening of engagement with the outside world of the Bakufu College recently reflected in the monograph of Makabe Jin.⁴⁷

Summary

What does the foregoing analysis of the 1850 liturgical diagram suggest for understanding of the relationship in the Bakumatsu period between the two worlds of Bakufu bureaucracy and Confucian College and, beyond that, of the history of Japanese Confucianism itself? At first sight, the regular performance in the autumn ceremony of the role of first sacrificer by a representative of the Bakufu bureaucracy dispatched by the shogun might suggest a deepening acceptance of the role of Confucianism, a significant advance in the Confucianization of the late feudal polity. The appointment of a prominent Bakufu bureaucrat such as Tsutsui to a leading liturgical role might suggest a convergence with the Chinese Confucian model, where the emperor despatches senior bureaucrats to perform ceremonies at the State Academy Directorate. Was there perhaps, as the liturgists had euphorically claimed during the reform itself, a convergence with the Chinese Confucian bureaucratic ideal and a weakening of the system of hereditary occupation within the College?

It may be useful here to apply the conceptual distinction between individual personal “development” of students and “control” in the Bakufu College adopted by Hashimoto Yukihiro in his analysis of the Bakufu College. If Tsutsui's role suggests some modest deepening at the institutional level of Confucian influence in the post-Reform period, other evidence points in the direction of “control.”⁴⁸ The presence of the *metsuke*, the stripping out of cultural rewards from the ceremony, the association of liturgical with Bakufu feudal rank through the color code so that the ceremony confirms the status system of the Bakufu, the small space allocated to daimyo spectators, and its elimination altogether during the autumn ceremony, the low number of student participants (only twelve, a particularly stark contrast

46. Ibid., 3: 425.

47. See Makabe, *Tokugawa kōki no gakumon*.

48. See Hashimoto, “Edo jidai no hyōka ni okeru tōseiron to kaihatsuron.”

with the *Engishiki* provision), are consistent with the desire to restrict the role of Confucianism. Most significantly, there was nothing equivalent to the *haibyō* sequence in the *Engishiki* when the “hundred officers” all attended, or to Tsunayoshi’s lavish hospitality in the Genroku version at its height. The Bakumatsu *sekiten* is a pared down, even minimalist, performance of the ceremony.

Nor, more closely scrutinized, does the role of Tsutsui Masanori himself substantially conflict with the emphasis on Bakufu control that all this suggests. His education and bureaucratic career may have involved him at several points with the Bakufu College, but it should be noted that his more secular appointments and activities point consistently in the direction of control or containment; his non-academic appointments addressed tension or threats confronting the regime: defence and internal discipline rather than, say, a more positive implementation of Confucian ideals of benevolent governance. Moreover, Tsutsui’s career within the Bakufu College was an isolated phenomenon, an individual case, rather than a concerted movement. His performance as first sacrificer was not accompanied by any enhancement of the role of the shogun in the cult of Confucius. Nor was any significant attempt made to revive the fifth shogun’s active personal participation in the ceremony. Moreover, though he had been a successful student at the Bakufu College, Tsutsui owed this appointment and liturgical role not a little to his inherited *hatamoto* status as a shogunal vassal.

Analysis of the warrior presence intruded into the mid-century Bakufu College revival of the ancient *Engishiki sekiten*, in summary, shows that it works ambivalently; it is at once recognition that Confucianism is worthy of the support of the military estate and also an ornament to the regime. At the same time, however, the warriors symbolize the subordination of the teaching of the Bakufu College and the values that inform it to military authority. Developments in the liturgy of the *sekiten* in the Bakumatsu period remain ambivalent; they should not be seen as a radical advance in the Confucianization of the late feudal Japanese polity.

Abbreviations

- CC* Legge, James, trans. *The Chinese Classics*. Original ed., 1865–93. Reprint. 5 vols. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960.
- 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.
- NKB* *Nihon kyōiku bunko* 日本教育文庫. Dōbunkan ed., 1910–11. Reprint. 13 vols. Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1977.
- NKSS* Monbushō 文部省, comp. *Nihon kyōiku shi shiryō* 日本教育史資料. 10 vols. Fuzan Bō, 1890–92.
- SKQS* [*Qinding*] *Siku quanshu* [欽定] 四庫全書 (Wenyuan ge 文淵閣 ed.). 5000 vols. Taiwan: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986.
- WOC* McMullen, James. *The Worship of Confucius in Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020.

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- Engishiki* 延喜式. In *KT* 26.
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APPENDIX 3

Unofficial and Commoner Worship of Confucius in Tokugawa Japan

Confucianism is generally associated with an elite stratum of Japanese traditional society. At its best, however, it was not simply an ideology of socio-political hegemony, hierarchy and deference, nor was it only associated with the ruling samurai estate in Tokugawa Japan. It was also concerned with popular welfare, the moral aspect of political authority, the mitigation of oppression, its own patriarchal version of familial morality, musical and literary culture, and recognition in others of a common humanity. At the level of the individual, starting from egalitarian and humanistic premises, it taught a form of self-development that potentially transcended social or political status. Much as Tetsuo Najita has claimed, as interpreted by a universalist such as Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627–1705), the Confucian “way” could concern the “small pathways that human beings [journey] over in daily life.”¹ In its Neo-Confucian form it also delivered a Buddhist-influenced soteriology of mystical unity with the natural-moral ground of the natural and human orders.

The Confucian vision was acted out in a flourishing ritual tradition. Followers of Confucianism inevitably encountered this essential performative aspect. Many rites of the extensive corpus of ritual directives concerned relationships within the extended kinship system underwritten in the Confucian canon and with ancestor worship; they could be pursued without political difficulty by those with sufficient resources, irrespective of status.

1. Najita, “History and Nature in Eighteenth-century Tokugawa Thought,” 603.

The *shidian/sekiten* to venerate Confucius, however, presented a more complex problem. In its early Chinese form, this ritual was commissioned and performed by bearers of state offices in schools which were also official institutions. In so far as official schooling was preparation for entry into the official bureaucracy by examination, the East Asian *sekiten* was initially a political ritual, and its liturgical officers tended to be restricted to serving bureaucrats or academic office holders, men who had themselves gained access to office through mastery of Confucian learning tested in official examinations.

From the Song dynasty in China, however, there had grown up an important tradition of unofficial and far less directly political performance of much reduced scale ceremonies to venerate Confucius. These rites were associated not with examination-oriented governmental Confucian institutions of education, but with unofficial academies whose purpose was to “pursue individual moral self-cultivation in order to achieve Confucian sagehood” rather than success in official examinations for access to appointments.² This unofficial, personal and devotional version of the ceremony is exemplified in the version called *Cangzhou jingshe shicai yi* 滄洲精舍稊菜儀 (The Cangzhou retreat *shicai* ceremony), referred to below as the “retreat version.” It was created by the great systematizer of Neo-Confucianism, the Thomas Aquinas of East Asian philosophy, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). In Japan, the legitimacy that this ceremony derived from its authorship, its independence from the political authority of the state, its small scale, and low cost appealed to men from outside the politically dominant samurai estate. At the same time, the ceremony sacralized a version of Confucianism which sought to empower men as moral subjects, and, its followers would argue, it offered a compelling soteriology in the concept of Sagehood. Its aim was, to borrow the words of the late Bitō Masahide, to develop “the autonomous judgement of the individual . . . constantly aiming at the understanding of universal principle.”³ Such empowerment of the individual, however, might prove unsettling in an authoritarian and hierarchical order such as Tokugawa Japan.

In Tokugawa Japan, the rite to venerate Confucius became mainly performed in the samurai domain schools for samurai (*hankō* 藩校) of the period. It is less well known that there was a minor, but historically significant, tradition of unofficial or semi-official performance outside the samurai estate. This appendix looks at this Tokugawa Japanese

2. Walton, *Academies and Society*, 105.

3. Bitō, “Seimei-ron to meibun-ron,” 20.

tradition of performance of the *sekiten* 稷奠 in unofficial and commoner “house schools” (*kajuku* 家塾). These institutions sprang up in the early Tokugawa period and remained a feature of the educational landscape throughout the period. In so far as they often became a starting point in the revival of the cult of Confucius in warrior sponsored domain schools, they overlap with the main theme of this book and draw on some of the same material. However, where *The Worship of Confucius* focuses on the association of the cult with central political power and particularly with the Rinke school in Edo, the focus here is on a relatively independent and apolitical practice distanced from that power and sited in unofficial schools. Present research allows no more than occasional glimpses of this phenomenon. Some thirty-two “house schools” have been estimated to have been founded in the first phase of the Tokugawa period between 1600 and 1772, the period on which this appendix focuses.⁴ At several of these, there is evidence of a ceremony to venerate Confucius: in unofficially led schools: in Nagoya domain (led by Namikawa Rosan 並河魯山 [d. 1642, *aet.* 58 *sai*]);⁵ Yanagawa (Andō Seian 安東省庵 [1622–1701]);⁶ Yonezawa (Yaoita San’in 矢尾板三印 [1640–1705]);⁷ Saga (the blind peasant Sanematsu Genrin 実松元林 [1639–1723]);⁸ in Nagasaki, (Mukai Genshō 向井元成 [1656–1727]);⁹ and in the Shimoya district of Edo (Miwa Shissai 三輪執斎 [1669–1744]).¹⁰ In other cases, the evidence for the veneration of Confucius is circumstantial such as the possession of a statue or the devotional image before which some form of ritual veneration of Confucius may have been performed, as, for instance, in Ōmizo (Nakae Tōju 中江藤樹 [1608–48]).¹¹

None of these is well documented. Three unofficial ceremonies of the period up until 1800, however, have left detailed directives or other information sufficient to permit conclusions concerning their leadership, participation, liturgical structure, ethos, and

4. Figures from Nakaizumi, *Nihon kinsei gakkōron*, 51.

5. *Bifu Seidōki*, 235.

6. Suzuki, *Nihon no Kōshibyō*, 52.

7. See Sudō, *Kinsei Nihon sekiten*, 192.

8. *Bunkyo Sensei gyō[jitsu]*, 337-39.

9. For the early history, see Nagasaki-shi, *Nagasaki shishi*, 534-49.

10. See Kasai, *Kinsei hankō ni okeru gakutō*, 2: 1461. The school was subsequently transferred to Ōzu domain in Shikoku as the domain school, where Confucius was venerated along with Nakae Tōju and Wang Yangming.

11. Inoue, *Nihon Yōmeigaku ha*, illustration facing p. 60.

orientation within the tradition. This article sketches these three ceremonies: the seventeenth-century versions of Matsunaga Sekigo 松永尺五 (1592–1657) and Nakamura Tekisai 中村惕斎 (1629–1702), both originating in seventeenth-century Kyoto, and the eighteenth-century version of Matano Gyokusen 股野玉川 (1730–1806) from Tatsuno domain. All three were initiated by men outside the warrior estate. This appendix argues that these versions express visions of Confucianism and its role in Japan significantly at variance from the outlook and ethos embodied in the dominant Rinke school and domain school ceremonies. The Sekigo version expressed an aristocratic, predominantly cultural vision that can be seen as an oblique protest against the dominance of the military in contemporary Japan; the Tekisai version projected a universal Confucianism that would transcend the divisions of society imposed by the Tokugawa settlement and embrace non-samurai commoners. These ceremonies may be regarded as explorations of what form Confucianism might take in Japan. The Gyokusen version, however, a rare and even unique example from its period, suggests accommodation with the Tokugawa settlement, but also embraced commoners.

Matsunaga Sekigo's cultural celebration

The first and earliest of these ceremonies was performed in Kyoto in the early decades of the Tokugawa period by the independent Confucian scholar Matsunaga Sekigo. Sekigo was a committed Confucian, but also, not least as the son the celebrated waka, renga and haiku poet Matsunaga Teitoku 松永貞徳 (1571–1653) a member of the Kyoto cultural elite. He was distantly related to Fujiwara Seika 藤原惺窩 (1561–1619), descendant in the twelfth generation of the better known literary scholar and poet Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241), and Sekigo shared some of the former's aristocratic social, cultural, and spiritual attitudes. He was on the fringes of the aristocratic court society centered on the imperial palace, whose origin predated the political ascendancy of the warrior estate. He taught in his own house schools in Kyoto rather than accept long-term residential service with a daimyo.¹²

With his broad-ranging cultural interests, *belles lettres*, and a fondness for feasting

12. For biographical detail, see Matano Tarō, “Denki.” Sekigo intermittently “served” the Maeda house in Kanazawa from 1640.

and aesthetic pursuits, Sekigo was a participant and beneficiary of the revival of the ancient, pre-feudal court culture in Kyoto that came with the Tokugawa peace. His revival of the *sekiten* took place against the systematic attempt of the imperial court, led by the emperor Go-Mizunoo (1596–1680; r. 1611–29 and active as retired emperor), to revive lapsed court rituals, such as the *Tōka sechie* 踏歌節会 (dance and song feast) or *jimoku* 除目 (appointments).¹³ Sekigo himself received patronage both from Go-Mizunoo and the emperor Go-Kōmyō (1633–54; r. 1643–54). This relationship with two emperors and the court, however, raises the question of whether Sekigo's performance of the *sekiten* might have been at some level, even if primarily cultural, a challenge to the ascendancy of the warriors. However, Sekigo was not in principle radically prejudiced against the warrior estate; he also received patronage from the Bakufu's representative in Kyoto.¹⁴

Sekigo was a serious and scholarly student of the history of the East Asian ritual veneration of Confucius. He left a treatise on the liturgical history of the ceremony, the *Sekiten girei* 稷奠儀例 (*Sekiten* ceremonial usages), the first on its subject, and among the best, to survive from the Tokugawa period.¹⁵ It can still be read with instruction. In addition to numerous Chinese and Japanese sources, it draws on the late fifteenth-century Korean compendium *Kukcho oryeūi* 国朝五礼儀 (Manual of the five state rites). Sekigo thought of the ceremony in practical terms and independently of the Tokugawa warrior authority now established over Japan. He endorsed unofficial observance in his own world, remarking that: "If a scholar observes [this rite] in his house school, Master Zhu's *Sōshū sekisai gi* 滄洲稷菜儀 [the retreat *sekisai* liturgy] is very simple and convenient."¹⁶ He included a translation into vernacular of this work in his treatise.¹⁷

The year 1637 has been claimed for Sekigo's first *sekisai*.¹⁸ Securely documented observances, however, can only be dated 1651/ii/9; 1652/ii/9; and 1656/ii/9.¹⁹ Despite Sekigo's advocacy of Zhu Xi's retreat liturgy, the directives for these ceremonies are a hybrid,

13. See Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy*, 78, 237–38.

14. Tokuda, *Sekigodō Sensei zenshū*, 14.

15. Matsunaga Sekigo, *Sekiten girei*.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Takahashi, "Kinsei shoki no Jukyō to 'rei,'" 253.

19. Tokuda, *Sekigodō Sensei zenshū*, 34–36; for the *saibun* of the first two of these ceremonies, see Matsunaga Sekigo, *Sekiten girei*.

best characterized as a combination of elements of post-Tang Chinese official traditions with revival of the cultural and aesthetic practices associated with Heian court tradition. The directives are attributed to direct “transmission” from a Chinese, Chen Yuanyun (Chin Genpin 陳元贇; ?1587-1671), a versatile refugee from the Manchu conquest of China, who had friends among the Japanese elite.²⁰ They are entitled *Shicai shi* 稊菜式 (Protocols for the *sekisai*) and are summary in character. Chen appears to have had no direct textual source for his version of the ceremony.²¹ Specified as participating are “a certain number of students, eight musicians, two ritualists (left and right), two ritual officials (left and right).” The directives prescribe one venerand only, Confucius himself.²² Abstinence is not specified. This ceremony broadly follows the pattern of the Ming official *shidian*, with the offering of a banner, an invocation addressed to Confucius, hymns, and three libations. It employs the Ming quadruple obeisance. The liturgical instructions are called out in Chinese denoted in *katakana furigana* on the manuscript. The titles of the music, an enthusiasm of Sekigo’s, and texts of the hymns are found in Ming ritual compilations, the *Pangong liyue shu* 頤宮禮樂疏 (Commentaries on the rites and music of the Confucian College) and *Ming huidian* 明會典 (Collected statutes of the Ming dynasty).²³ The first hymn is worded:

How great the Sage Confucius!
 We revere the virtue of his Way
 It sustains the kingly transformations.
 The people regard him as their patriarch.
 Our offerings are constant.
 They are pure and abundant.

20. For the directives, the fullest text is the Naikaku Bunko MS version transcribed in 1735 in Kyoto from the copy in the possession of Matsunaga Shōteki 昌適 (迪), Sekigo’s grandson. An abbreviated version of the directives is in the 1683 edition of Sekigo’s collected writings *Sekigodō Sensei zenshū*, ed. Tokuda, 253, where their use in the Sekigodō “in years passed” is documented.

21. Of the Chinese *shicai* liturgies that might have been available to a Japanese scholar at this time, his ceremony seems closest to the “Biyong shicai yi” of the Song Dynasty Zheng Juzhong’s *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*, juan 123 particularly in having music and concluding with burying the banner.

22. The *Zhangzhou shecai yi* stipulates correlates and subsidiary venerands, but the invocation is addressed only to Confucius.

23. For the music, see Li Zhizao, *Pangong liyue shu*, 3/11a-17a, 651: 85-88; For the text of the hymns, Li Dongyang. *Da Ming huidian*, 91/23b-24b, 1444 and in English translation, appendix 2(a).

Do you Spirit come;
Illumine us with your Sagely presence.

It seems likely that these Ming official features were incorporated for reasons of prestige as well as on aesthetic grounds, to demonstrate regained familiarity with authoritative Chinese practice after the hiatus in Sino-Japanese relations during the Sengoku period.

This was a short ceremony, similar in scale to Zhu's retreat version. Yet it is otherwise dissimilar. The most striking feature is its character as a self-consciously cultural celebration. In this respect it is influenced by the cultural emphasis of the ceremonies of the Heian period. The directives include not only music, but also, again following Heian practice after the sacrificial ceremony proper (the *mimeisai* 未明祭, "pre-dawn sacrifice"), questions and answers on the canonical text chosen for the ceremony, and a session of versification on a related theme. In 1651, the text was the Confucian *Analects*, and Sekigo himself led with his verse:

The twenty thousand and three thousand words make chains of crystal;
Opening the scrolls in a spring breeze dispels the mood of dust;
The lecturing voices of blue collared students swirl around the place;
Through the window, they resemble the answering calls of warblers and swifts.

Eighteen poems were composed by as many poets that spring; sixteen in spring the following year.²⁴ Indeed, if the number of musicians is added to the number of versifiers, performers of cultural skills outnumber the participants in the sacrificial proceedings.

Though the setting was a self-designated unofficial "house school," Sekigo was aiming high; even the reading of the directives in Chinese pronunciation may partly have been intended as a reference to Heian period *Engishiki* practice, for the official *Engishiki* version of 927 also used Chinese pronunciations. Sekigo wished to confer on his ceremony the kind of ancient authority and cultural allure that would appeal to fellow citizens of Kyoto eager to revive traditional cultural practices in their city.

The importance of culture is pursued in the 1651 "sacrificial text" (*saibun* 祭文) of the prayer addressed to Confucius. This announces that "the latter [day] student Changsan 昌三 [Sekigo] together with one or two friends in culture (*wenyou* 文友) respectfully, with paltry

24. Matsunaga Sekigo, *Sekigodō Sensei zenshū*, 251-56.

offerings of parsley and waterweed and pure wine, makes oblation to the spirit tablet of the former teacher Confucius.”²⁵ After a high-flown encomium of the person of Confucius, it continues with a muted indictment of the recent past and identifies the present as a time of revival.²⁶

The performance of the two sacrifices of spring and autumn, the great service from a foreign land, blazes forth in the universe. In our court we too took it as a model in middle antiquity; but soon thereafter the kingly bonds were slackened, the transforming [process] of the way of culture day by day declined, and the sacrificial service to the Former Teacher vanished without trace. Now, the state is at peace and among the eastern warriors this rite is broadly observed. What could be better than this? Now our company in our rustic school, our village academy, coarsely stages a feeble ceremony.

Despite his probably obligatory gesture to the military government in the Kantō, Sekigo seems to favor the “transforming” influence of elite civil culture, rather than military authority, as the mode in which society is articulated. Is this more than nostalgia for the ancient “civil,” rather than military, past; or is it a claim to compete culturally with the military? Further aspects of Sekigo’s activity in Kyoto, while again implicitly suggesting acceptance of the authority of the military regime, confirm his connection with the imperial palace and resonate with the institutional order of ancient Japan.

Sekigo had three academies in Kyoto: first his Shunjūkan 春秋館, founded in 1628; next, Kōshūdō 講習堂, built in 1637 with the support of the Bakufu’s Kyoto Deputy (the Shoshidai 所司代) Itakura Shigemune 板倉重宗 (1586–1656), a hereditary vassal of the Tokugawa but personally sympathetic to Confucianism. The plot of land for this school had symbolic significance; it stood on vacant land outside Nijōjō east gate on what was reputed to be the site of the ancient University.²⁷ The school attracted students from the court nobility as well as samurai.²⁸ It seems also to have been openly awarded imperial patronage; the year following its foundation, it was said to have been granted the distinction of a plaque in the

25. “Friends in culture” refers to *Analects* XII, 24; CC 1: 262. “The philosopher Tzeng said, ‘The superior on grounds of virtue of culture meets with his friends, and by their friendship helps his virtue.’”

26. Text in Matsunaga Sekigo, *Sekiten girei*.

27. Takahashi, “Kinsei shoki no Jukyō to ‘rei,’” 252. Matano Tarō, “Denki,” 258-59.

28. Matano Tarō, “Denki,” 259.

hand of Go-Mizunoo, and Sekigo himself to have been awarded court rank of fifth rank, upper (the rank of the ancient Japanese Head of the University, *Daigakuryō* 大学寮) with the privilege of palace audience (*shōden* 昇殿).²⁹ Sekigo's third school was his Sekigodō 尺五堂.³⁰ Once more, the Kyoto Deputy provided help. This was founded in 1648, it has been suggested at the prompting of Go-Mizunoo, on a plot of land to the south of the imperial palace, again a symbolic site.³¹ It was early suggested that the school was intended evangelically to “inform princes and sons of courtiers of the Way.”³² These schools flourished; Sekigo's students were popularly said to exceed five thousand.

Sekigo's schools on symbolic sites in the old capital, his connections with the imperial family and provision of education to the imperial court nobility, the plaque in the hand of Go-Mizunoo, the tradition that he accepted imperial court rank, his following among the imperial court nobility, his feasting and verse-writing, his implicit privileging of “civil” over “martial, and especially his *sekisai* ceremony incorporating deliberate references to the ancient court ceremony, all suggest sympathy for the society and culture of the imperial court. There is nothing, however, to indicate that Sekigo himself intended any form of practical political intervention in the delicate relationship between imperial court and Bakufu. He was no subversive political activist. On the contrary, he seems to have been on good terms with the Bakufu's representative in Kyoto. His overt political stance was probably safely consistent with the cultural role assigned to the court by the Bakufu.³³ Furthermore, Sekigo declared himself to be apolitical; he refused an official appointment as Confucian advisor to feudal wielders of power, preferring loftily to pursue “the nobility of Heaven” (*tenshaku* 天爵) rather than the “the nobility of man” (*jinshaku* 人爵).³⁴ His choice was “from an unranked status [himself] to associate with men of high rank and high office; not to be troubled by domestic matters, to respond to invitations from feudal lords, to travel to distant places; on the side to

29. Ibid. The precise significance of granting a plaque in the hand of an ex-sovereign to a school requires further research. However, in Korea at least, it had important significance, signaling state recognition. Ri Taichin (Yi T'aejin), *Chōsen ōchō shakai to Jukyō*, 241-45.

30. So named echoing a poem by Du Fu, because it was only “one foot and a half removed from Heaven”; Tokuda, *Sekigodō Sensei zenshū*, 14.

31. Matano Tarō, “Denki,” 262.

32. Matsunaga Shōrin, *Sekigodō Kyōken sensei gyōjō*, 7.

33. See Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy*, especially chapter 6: “Codifying the Court,” 198-224.

34. See *Mencius*, VIA, 16; CC 2: 418-19.

sightsee at famous mountains and great rivers . . . to carry delight and rejoicing to their limits with troops of disciples and then go home.”³⁵ But behind this somewhat hedonistic version of Confucian practice, there was surely a cautious and subtle expression of discontent, or at least a concern, with presenting some kind of alternative to the warrior ethos. Sekigo may be regarded as succeeding to the ancient imperial courtly cultural tradition. His *sekiten* is best interpreted as a traditionalist attempt to reclaim the identity and moral and aesthetic cultural role of a sophisticated community politically marginalized under the Tokugawa settlement. He viewed Confucianism primarily as a cultural tradition, but cultural practice itself was a mode of political influence, implicitly to be contrasted with the military authority of the Kantō and its potentially coercive control.

Sekigo's popularity as a teacher ensured that his *sekisai* was emulated. His disciples seem to have taken the ceremony beyond the ancient metropolis into feudal provincial society, Kinoshita Jun'an 木下順庵 (1621–98) to the Hokuriku domain of Kaga and Andō Seian, to Yanagawa in Kyushu. These ceremonies were perhaps unable to draw on the cultural resources available in Kyoto for they did not seem to have enjoyed public success. In due course, however, the imperial palace expressed interest in reviving Confucianism in Kyoto. The Go-Kōmyō emperor was disturbed by the lack of Confucian education and the cult of Confucius in Kyoto, and the possibility of reviving a shrine to Confucius and institution of higher learning in Kyoto was raised with the Bakufu. It is difficult to believe that Sekigo was not aware of this proposal, whether or not he might have been willing to participate. The Bakufu was approached and appeared to react favorably. According to a near contemporary source:

The loss of the Sage's Shrine is something recent. Once a Sage's Shrine exists, it is accompanied also by a University. [The Go-Kōmyō emperor] considered this to be the most urgent matter of all. The Kantō was notified and gradually made preparations. It was due to be constructed in the near future, but was abandoned because of the emperor's smallpox.³⁶

It is not easy to see why the death of the emperor in 1654 necessarily vitiated his proposal. In fact, two centuries later, the wish of the Ninkō emperor (r. 1817–46) to found just such a

35. Matsunaga Shōrin, *Sekigodō Kyōken sensei gyōjō*, 7.

36. Muro, *Kyūsō shōsetsu*, 479. For this emperor's views on Confucianism, see Webb, *The Japanese Imperial Institution*, 74-75, 149-52.

school was posthumously honored by the Bakufu with the founding of the Gakushūin 学習院 in Kyoto.³⁷ It does not seem fanciful to suggest that Go-Kōmyō's early death may have been merely a face-saving pretext for Bakufu rejection of this project. The mood within the Bakufu from the sixth decade of the regime was not hospitable to Confucianism. Following the death of the third shogun in 1651, the samurai revolts of 1651–52 made for difficult years for advocates of the teaching. The subjectivist doctrines of Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1473–1529), in particular, were held to have been implicated among the insurgents, and the daimyo of Okayama, Ikeda Mitsumasa 池田光政 (1609–82), a prominent Confucian-minded daimyo associated through his advisor Kumazawa Banzan 熊沢蕃山 (1619–91) with subjectivist *Shingaku* 心学 Neo-Confucianism, was firmly advised against assembling large numbers of his samurai for Confucian study.³⁸ Men such as Sakai Tadakatsu 酒井忠勝 (1587–62) and Matsudaira Nobutsuna 松平信綱 (1596–1662), who dominated the Bakufu in midcentury, were unsympathetic sympathetic to Confucianism, about which they were “actually almost entirely uncomprehending.”³⁹ The Bakufu was sensitive to independent religious or intellectual activity in Kyoto over these years. Collective rites to venerate Confucius might well be viewed unfavorably at this time.

Another cause of the lapse of the ceremony in Kyoto at this time lay with a structural feature of Japanese society: its privileging of hereditary and ascriptive occupation exposed the longer-term future of hereditarily owned and led schools to the vagaries of inherited academic talent. After his death in 1657, the intellectual caliber of the Matsunaga kindred is said to have declined. His school failed to compete with other schools in Kyoto, such as those of Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇斎 (1618–82) or Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627–1705), neither of which promoted the ceremony.⁴⁰ A similar failure to pass on academic talent affected the poorly documented unofficial Nagoya ceremony of Namikawa Rosan mentioned

37. Ōkubo, *Meiji ishin to kyōiku*, 27. See also *WOC* chapter 13: “Emperor and Uncrowned King.”

38. For these developments, see *WOC* chapter 13: “Emperor and Uncrowned King.” See also McMullen, *Idealism, Protest and the Tale of Genji*, 117–21; “Confucianism, Christianity and heterodoxy in Tokugawa Japan; The Confucianism of Ikeda Mitsumasa” (forthcoming); and Bodart-Bailey, “The Persecution of Confucianism in Early Tokugawa Japan.”

39. Watanabe, *Kinsei daimyō bungeiken*, 73.

40. Odaka, *Shintei Matsunaga Teitoku*, 372–73.

above, of whom it was recorded that “sons and grandsons were ungifted and resigned their office, and services were abandoned.”⁴¹

Imperial interest in the ceremony, distant and symbolic rather than material during this early period, seems also to have lapsed into quiescence after Go-Kōmyō’s death. If Sekigo’s vision of a cultural ceremony at the heart of the ancient metropolis had a successor, it had to wait over a century. Only then would until recently rather little known *sekiten* ceremonies be conducted by the Kōkaku emperor (1771–1840; r. 1780–1817) in the imperial palace itself. Later, in 1850, was to come the *Engishiki* Heian style ceremony at the revived school for court nobles, the Gakushūin, in Kyoto.⁴² Later still, at an unofficial level more closely resembling Sekigo’s ceremonies, on 1859/ii/16 at the Shimogamo shrine in Kyoto a remarkable *Engishiki*-based ceremony was performed to report to Confucius the establishment of a school and library, the recently donated Tadekura bunko 蓼倉文庫, by Nukina Sūō 貫名菴翁 (1778–1863). Nukina, well known as a calligrapher, was a sometime lecturer at the Gakushūin. Here was an unofficial elite cultural celebration akin to Sekigo’s.⁴³ But these revivals belong to another chapter in the colorful Japanese history of the veneration of Confucius.

Nakamura Tekisai’s universal empowering Neo-Confucian ceremony

Sekigo had revived the *sekiten* as a celebration of elite culture; his version of the ceremony, though up-to-date with Chinese practice, drew its inspiration mainly from the aristocratic court ceremony of the Heian period or even, more remotely, from Six Dynasties China. The second of the early unofficial or commoner ceremonies to be analyzed in this chapter is associated with a Kyoto merchant, the Zhu Xi Neo-Confucian, Nakamura Tekisai. Tekisai focused not on culture, but on the devotional and moral empowerment of individuals, explicitly including commoners, who were disenfranchized under the Tokugawa settlement.

41. *Bifu Seidōki*, 235.

42. Ōkubo, *Meiji ishin to kyōiku* 24. See also *WOC*, chapter 13: “Emperor and Uncrowned King.”

43. Kamo, *Ansei rokunen Sujō Shooku sekiten*. The sacrificial rite was followed by a sequence derived from the Heian ritual manuals: a lecture on the canonical text to be delivered by the benefactor himself; questions, in which the students participate; a feast; toasts; and poems on a canonical theme.

He was uninterested in the Heian courtly tradition of cultural celebration that attracted Matsunaga Sekigo. Poetry and feasting, and even music, had no part in his ceremony. Tekisai rejected extant Heian period aristocratic manuals such as the *Seikyūki* 西宮記 and the *Gōke shidai* 江家次第 that had provided guidance to the cultural side of the ceremony, possibly because their specifically senior nobility perspective on the rite conflicted with his own belief in Confucian universality; “if one picked information from them, how could one be sure that the result would not be riddled with error?”⁴⁴

Instead, Tekisai’s Confucianism asserted the claim of Zhu Xi style Neo-Confucian self-cultivation to be a universal practical path leading to Confucian enlightenment. He was interested in Confucian ritual as a universal practice and endorsed mourning and ancestor worship on the pattern of Zhu’s *Wengong jiali* (Domestic ritual of Zhu Xi). Confucian ritual was for the domestic use of commoners.⁴⁵ Tekisai’s writings confirm that self-cultivation was an end in itself; study was soteriological and “for oneself,” rather than preparation for the performance of a particular social role, as some Japanese Confucians viewed it.⁴⁶ It was transformative for the practitioner and for society.⁴⁷ For him, Confucianism was a system of belief and practice that should, like Buddhism, capture the mind, rather than regulate external conduct. His sense of rivalry with Buddhism is also expressed by his advocacy of anthropomorphic representation of Confucius, and his contention, with Buddhist statuary in mind, that “unless the leader of the *sekisai* rite provides the features of [imperial] dragon robe and ‘tasseled crown’ (*konben* 渾弁), it will be insufficient to attract the honor and respect of common people.”⁴⁸ He was independently wealthy enough to erect his own “worship hall” (*shidō* 祠堂).⁴⁹ But whether because of external constraint or from personal disinclination, he did not found a school himself. He is not directly or personally associated with performance of the ceremony.

Tekisai, like Sekigo, was a serious student of the history of the *sekiten*. His view of

44. Nakamura Tekisai, *Sekisai gisetsu kōgi narabi jo*.

45. For Tekisai’s thinking on ritual, see Shibata, “Nakamura Tekisai,” 81.

46. Quoted in *ibid.*, 19; *Analects*, XIV, 25; CC 1: 285.

47. Nakamura Tekisai, *Tsuien sosetsu jo* 追遠疎序. In Shibata, “Nakamura Tekisai,” 280-81. See also *ibid.*, 81. Compare *Analects* I, 9, CC 1: 141. “Let there be a careful attention to perform the funeral rites to parents, and let them be followed when long gone with the ceremonies of sacrifice - then the virtue of the people will resume its proper excellence.”

48. Nakamura Tekisai, *Seizō shōfuku kōgi*.

49. Shibata, “Nakamura Tekisai,” 16.

the ceremony is known from his *Sekisai gisetsu kōgi narabi jo* 稊菜儀節考並序 (Procedures for the *sekisai* and preface).⁵⁰ In 1690, he responded to the query of an unidentified “director” (*kanshi* 監司) of a Confucian shrine at an academy (*shoin bunbyō* 書院文廟), who sought guidance over the ceremony. This official had wanted to introduce Zhu Xi’s retreat liturgy into his academy, but had been troubled by a lack of detail. The institution concerned can with reasonable confidence be identified with the celebrated Shizutani gakumonjo 閑谷學問所, technically a “country school” (*gōkō* 郷校) for non-samurai of the domain, founded in 1670 by the Confucian-minded and idealistic daimyo of the Okayama domain, Ikeda Mitsumasa.⁵¹ The “director” at the time seems likely to have been Ohara Jōbuken 小原丈夫軒 (1637–1712), a Zhu Xi school Neo-Confucian, who held that position following Mitsumasa’s death and knew Tekisai. Earlier, Tekisai himself, who infrequently ventured outside Kyoto, is recorded to have visited the school in the fourth month of 1686 and a version of the *sekisai* ceremony had been performed there on 1686/viii/5.⁵²

Tekisai’s liturgical solution to the Shizutani problem was a redaction of the Neo-Confucian Zhu Xi retreat ceremony. Confucius was addressed as “Perfect Sage and Former Teacher Confucius” following the late Ming formula. The invocation itself reads: “Hail, Teacher, your virtue is distributed over Heaven and Earth, your Way crowns past and present, you edited and retold the *Six Classics* and pass down ordinances for ten thousand generations.”⁵³ But it is clear from Tekisai’s “secondary venerands” (*jūshi* 從祀) that he wished his ceremony to stand unequivocally within the orthodox Zhu Xi Neo-Confucian tradition. They were the “five gentlemen,” leading exponents of the Song Neo-Confucian revival.⁵⁴ The liturgy was made somewhat more formal than Zhu’s retreat version through

50. Nakamura Tekisai, *Sekisai gisetsu narabi jo*; the following summary is based on this unpaginated text. The preface is reprinted in Shibata, “Nakamura Tekisai,” 278-79. For further analysis of this work, see Ri Gessan (Li Yueshan), “Nakamura Tekisai to Genroku ki no Jukyō girei,” 88-103.

51. See appendix 6: “Early Warrior Ceremonies.”

52. Shibata, “Nakamura Tekisai,” 129; NKSS 6: 109; Kasai, *Kinsei hankō ni okeru gakutō*, 2: 1163-64; Shiraki, *Shizutani seidō sekisai*, 11.

53. Li Zhizao, *Pangong liyue shu*, 3/17b-17a, 651-88.

54. This list is not spelled out as such; in his discussion of secondary venerands, however, Tekisai seems to select the four Neo-Confucians anthologized by Zhu Xi in *Jinsilu*, Zhang Zai, Zhou Dunyi, the two Cheng brothers; plus Zhu Xi himself, of whom Tekisai wrote “the great completer [of their teachings] was Master Zhu.”

adaptation to the institutional setting of a school, rather than a retreat. Some more recent Chinese official practice was incorporated, though Tekisai retained the less deferential “two bows” of the Zhu liturgy rather than the quadruple Ming practice.⁵⁵ The liturgical officers were also almost identical to the Zhu retreat version, though the number of supervisors of the paraphernalia was increased from one to four. The ritual vessels, one stem bowl (C. *bian* 簋); one covered stem bowl (*dou* 豆); one goblet (*jue* 爵) for the main altar to Confucius, appear the same as in the Zhu liturgy. But Tekisai specified preparations and ritual sequels not mentioned by Zhu, including, as specifically his own view graphic instructions for the slaughter of a sacrificial hare.

In my opinion: Before the appointed time, the Director must personally shoot a hare for use.⁵⁶ In general, for those who shoot an animal the priority is to pierce the heart for a quick death. In butchering it, you take the good meat from the upper body; the remaining meat may not be eaten in advance or used for other purposes. It should be buried in clean ground, together with the fur and blood, stomach, intestines, bones and ligaments.

Practical directives for preparing vegetable offerings were also provided. Both rehearsal and abstinence were required, underscoring that this was a serious ritual project.

Tekisai's liturgy was overwhelmingly Chinese. Like Sekigo's Chen Yuanyun liturgy, his directives use a *katakana* transliteration of mandarin Chinese pronunciation of the instructions called out during the ceremony. But Tekisai's Confucian religiosity was different: Sekigo's ceremony had been an expression of elite cultural Sinophilia. For Tekisai, rather, the purpose seems religious and evangelical rather than cultural or political, to sacralize a new language of moral discourse, even a new orientation to reality. Tekisai's approach has an element of asceticism that sets it apart from Sekigo's hedonism. Liturgically, the abstinence and use of Chinese language created a liminal space separated from quotidian Japanese reality, within which individuals could reconstitute and sacralize themselves as Neo-Confucian moral subjects. Like the Zhu Xi's retreat liturgy itself, this can be called a

55. Probably derived from the “Shecai” section of the *Pangong liyue shu*, prescribed for spring and autumn first *ding* day of the middle month, and for the first day of the month in the national school; Li Zhizao, *Pangong liyue shu*, 3/20a-26b, 651-90-93.

56. It was an ancient belief that animals used for sacrifice should out of respect be personally shot by members of the elite. See Ogyū's commentary on *Analects*, VII, 26; CC 1: 203; Ogyū, *Rongo chō*, 1: 287-89.

ceremony of personal moral empowerment.

But Tekisai also took into account the Japanese history and context of his ceremony. His invocation mapped the ceremony not onto his own contemporary late feudal world, but onto a pre-feudal polity. It specified the ceremony as the autonomous act of “a person of a certain office, a certain school, in a certain county of a certain province . . . in Great Japan.”⁵⁷ The later Tokugawa period Japanese liturgical scholar Ōgōri Shinsai 大郷信齋 (1772–1844) referred to this independent agency as “academic officer’s personal sacrifice” (*gakkan jisai* 学官自祭).⁵⁸ In these cases, Confucianism seemed primarily an intramural, academic matter of personal moral empowerment, its devotional aspect apparently not linked directly to the wider political life of contemporary late feudalism.

There is no evidence that Tekisai’s version of the ceremony was implemented at Shizutani exactly as prescribed. Extant directives from 1702 when the rite was said to have “been perfected” suggest a simpler version, with subsidiary venerands omitted. Nonetheless, there is a family resemblance to Tekisai’s version, down to the use of the Ming invocation.⁵⁹ Meanwhile, Tekisai continued to look beyond Shizutani to realize his aspirations. Through his mercantile activity, he was acquainted with Taketomi Rensai 武富廉齋 (1637–1718), a wealthy cloth entrepreneur of Chinese extraction in the Kyushu domain of Saga, whose Confucian mentor he became. Even as Tekisai designed a ceremony for the Okayama commoner school in 1690, his disciple Rensai petitioned the daimyo of Saga for permission to build a Sage’s Hall.⁶⁰ The request was approved; by the autumn of 1692, Rensai had erected a shrine to Confucius at his own expense in Saga and performed the ceremony there.⁶¹ Thereafter, he “observed the *sekiten* in the middle [lunar] months of spring and autumn.”⁶²

Tekisai, gratified, wrote a *Hishū Saga Taketomi shi Kōshi shi ki* 肥州佐嘉武富孔子祠記 (Dedication for the Taketomi worship of Confucius in Saga) that reveals more of his

57. Tekisai used the late Ming version (Li Zhizao, *Pangong liyue shu*, 3/17b, 651-88) again to be read in a pronunciation approximating to the Chinese. Zhu Xi’s invocations had been flexible reports, adapted to each occasion and personal in tone; Tekisai, however, found their “wording diffuse and difficult to use as a regular service.” Nakamura, *Sekisai gisetsu kōgi*.

58. Ōgōri, *Sekiten shigi*, kan 4, “Shukubun.” He believed this to have been the practice in China up until the Tang Dynasty Zhenguan period (627–49).

59. NKSS 6: 109; Shiraki, *Shizutani seidō sekisai*, 13.

60. Shibata, “Nakamura Tekisai,” 88.

61. Ibid., 280.

62. *Taketomi Ichirōemon*, 336.

conception of the ceremony. He conjured up an idealized and egalitarian Japanese past associated with an imperially sanctioned ritual that transcended social division, including his own and Rensai's disadvantaged commoner mercantile status.⁶³ The *sekiten* had been practiced in Japan since the time of the emperor Monmu (r. 850–58) and had spread to the provinces. In Japan, the ceremony had followed the Crown Prince's version from the *Kaiyuan li*. But, perhaps mindful that Rensai had played his *biwa* in the imperial palace, Tekisai also mentioned the “palace debate” (*uchirongi* 内議論) with the startling claim that commoners had participated in this court ceremony in antiquity.

The day following the *ding* sacrifice at the state academy, the sacrificial meats (*so* 胙) were offered to the Son of Heaven. The Son of Heaven went to the Shishin [hall] 紫宸「殿」 and commanded another performance of the lecture. This was called the “palace debate.” The students, though [merely] gentlemen or commoners (*shisho* 士庶), also participated in it.⁶⁴

This tradition, however, Tekisai's essay continued, had been lost. A school at Ashikaga (founded 1439) survived, but was under Buddhist management. Hayashi Razan had “performed the rite in the eastern capital, but this was the private matter of his house.” Now the shogun had established a new Sage's Hall and himself often lectured there. Tekisai hailed this as “the flourishing conjunction between heaven and earth.” But the example had not, it seemed, been emulated by other feudal princes and those below, among whom Buddhism still prevailed. Now Taketomi had established a shrine in Saga, unstintingly funding it himself. The premises had attracted attention. To this, the stream of “gentlemen and people from far and near and travelers on their journeys who look up in veneration at the shrine images is incessant and ceaseless. . . This is a new achievement from among the people.”

For Tekisai, Confucianism was neither a matter of government nor a concern of feudal authority, but a religious calling spontaneously arising from “among the people.” The ceremony sacralized Confucian morality; it must be accompanied by Confucian moral practice. Taketomi must be careful, his mentor insisted, to stress Zhu Xi's moral teachings and interpretations. Tekisai's advice, lest the effort be nullified, was to display Zhu Xi's moral

63. Text in Shibata, “Nakamura Tekisai,” 279-80; for a commentary, see *ibid.*, 90-91.

64. *Ibid.*, 279. For Rensai's performance at the palace, see *Taketomi Ichirōemon*, 334.

primer *Bailu shuyuan xueji* 白鹿書院學規則 (*sic.* White deer academy rules).⁶⁵ This guide to conduct could restore Japan's ancient "pure style" and usher in an age of prosperity. So Tekisai, bent on personal self-cultivation and moral empowerment, steered his disciple down the correct, true path: Neo-Confucian regeneration sacralized by the performance of the *sekiten* at the level of the individual transcending social status could restore society.

Co-optation by feudal authority

How successful was Tekisai's attempt to promote a commoner's or universalistic cult of Confucius in the hierarchical society of the time? To what extent did it preserve the universality that informed his vision for Confucianism and its rituals? The answer must be that in practice the ceremonies that he inspired, like other unofficial initiatives, were vulnerable to co-optation into the hierarchical feudal authority structure of their domains. The manner of this co-optation ranged across a spectrum from intruding the symbolic presence of the daimyo into the liturgy to the monopolization of the ritual for domain schools restricted to samurai students. At the former end, the exceptional Shizutani commoner country school ceremony underwent a development that incorporated it into the feudal ideology of the domain. A shrine to the former daimyo Mitsumasa himself was constructed immediately to the east of that for Confucius in 1686. An image was cast in 1704 and installed in 1707; the liturgy for that year is recorded.⁶⁶ A ceremony was performed there immediately following the *sekisai* to Confucius and preceding the lecture. It has been suggested that Mitsumasa was intended as a correlate to the offering to Confucius.⁶⁷ The Okayama domain had liturgically associated Confucian piety with the sacralization of the ruling feudal lineage.

Taketomi Rensai's Saga ceremony that had so enthused Tekisai underwent a similar development, but at a different level. The shrine and its ritual attracted warrior interest. In 1696, Rensai himself was promoted to samurai status; the site of his shrine was enlarged; a

65. This work is elsewhere also referred to as *Bailu shuyuan jieshi* 白鹿洞書院揭示.

66. NKSS 6: 109. In another sign of domain expropriation of the ritual, the chief sacrificer in the first extant directives for the ceremony (1702) was Tsuda Nagatada 津田永忠 (1640–1707), a long-serving samurai administrator and domain loyalist. He had evidently replaced the Confucian scholar Ohara Jōbuken; *ibid.*; Shiraki, *Shizutani seidō sekisai*, 13.

67. Shiraki, *Shizutani seidō sekisai*, 18–19.

“house school” was constructed. There, Rensai lectured to “lords, ministers, gentlemen and commoners.” The fourth Saga daimyo himself, Nabeshima Tsunashige 鍋島綱茂 (1652–1707) “frequently came and listened to the teacher’s lectures or had him play the *biwa* or *sō*.”⁶⁸ Thus, Tekisai’s redaction of the Zhu Xi retreat liturgy changed character and patronage: his puritanical liturgy and hopes for a universal Confucian practice seem likely to have become associated both with the political authority of the daimyo and with the tradition of elite cultural celebration that he himself had abjured. Rensai’s school itself morphed through a “semi-private, semi-public” (*hanshi hankō* 半私半公) status eventually to be succeeded by an official domain school for samurai.

Tekisai’s redaction of the Zhu Xi retreat liturgy met a similar fate elsewhere. As a merchant he was the center of a social network and his ceremony was adopted by other parties. There it shared the same absorption into official status as in Saga and Shizutani. This phenomenon can be seen for instance in the Taku sub-fief of the Nabeshima domain in Kyushu, where the bookish young daimyo Taku Shigefumi 多久茂文 (1669–1711) adopted Tekisai’s ceremony for the shrine of his samurai school to promote “respect” among what he referred to as the “wriggling masses” of his domain.⁶⁹ Elsewhere, in the Okayama castle town, where the administration had earlier been influenced by Ikeda Mitsumasa, a simple ceremony based on Zhu Xi’s retreat liturgy was adopted in the domain samurai school with the daimyo or his kin officiating.⁷⁰ More interestingly, this liturgy was employed in the domain samurai school at Hagi (Chōshū) as an intramural autumn ceremony. It was also adopted in the mid-eighteenth revival of the religious cult of Confucius at the domain school in Nagoya.⁷¹ Another interesting example was Hiroshima, where a politicized version of the Zhu Xi retreat ritual was adopted *ab initio* as the domain school’s ceremony.⁷² The dominant trend, it seems, was for the originally independent and universalistic ceremony of Tekisai and Rensai to be absorbed into the official samurai education system, and with that, to lose its character as a universal ceremony to venerate Confucius. At the institutional level this co-optation, as Ronald Dore’s book points out (he calls them “seedling schools”), was a common theme in

68. *Taketomi Ichirōemon*, 336.

69. *NKSS* 6: 142-48. See also appendix 6: “Early Warrior Ceremonies.”

70. *Ibid.*, 108-09.

71. For Hagi, see *ibid.*, 123-24; for Nagoya-shi, *Shindō sekisai gi*, 293-316.

72. See McMullen, “The worship of Confucius in Hiroshima.”

the development of schools during the Tokugawa period.⁷³ Of the other poorly documented unofficial *kajuku* ceremonies, as mentioned above, the Yaoita in Yonezawa, Miwa Shissai's ceremony in Edo (moved to the Ōzu domain), and the ceremony of the blind peasant Sanematsu Genrin in Saga were similarly subsequently co-opted to become domain school rituals.

It is striking that independent commoner ceremonies to venerate Confucius dwindled as the Tokugawa period wore on and seem almost to disappear from the historical record. It is not that unofficial or commoner schools were lacking. Of the well over one thousand unofficial schools started in the last century of the regime, a high proportion were Kangakujuku 漢学塾, centered on "Chinese studies," but there is little evidence of the formal worship of Confucius in them. The ceremony is not associated with the best known "private academies" (*shijuku* 私塾) of the period, namely Kan Sazan's 菅茶山 Renjuku 廉塾 (1781); Hirose Tansō's 広瀬淡窓 Kangien 咸宜園 (1805); Hoashi Manri's 帆足万里 Seien Seisha 西崦精舎 (1842); Ōshio Chūsai's 大塩忠斎 Senshindō 洗心洞 (1830); Yoshida Shōin's 吉田松陰 Shōka Sonjuku 松下村塾 (1856). In Kyoto, Minagawa Kien 皆川淇園 (1734–1807) opened a popular school in Kyoto called the Kōdōkan (弘道館). He himself wrote a treatise entitled *Sekiten kōsetsu* 釈奠考説 (Study of the *sekiten*) among other works on Confucian ritual, but there appears to be no record of such a ceremony in his school.

Over time, despite the availability of a legitimate unofficial form of the ceremony from the great Zhu Xi, it did not prove possible to establish this ceremony for aspiring commoners in Japan. Both Sekigo's attempt to revive the ancient courtly style of cultural celebration and Tekisai's expansive vision of a universal Neo-Confucian practice accessible to commoners seem to have reached a dead end. This would suggest that the *sekiten/sekisai* ceremonies of Sekigo and Tekisai were a fleeting phenomenon, the product of a short era of social fluidity before the estate divisions, restrictions, and controls of the Tokugawa era settled into rigidity.

73. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, 73. For this trend, see also appendix 6: "Early Warrior Ceremonies."

The Tatsuno ceremony

Tokugawa history does not often permit generalization. *A priori*, it seems likely that commoners in the schools of the period must have continued, in some form, to venerate and acknowledge the sacred authority of Confucius, the founder of the moral tradition whose authority they implicitly acknowledged. An example of an attractive independent commoner ceremony is to be found initiated in the mid-eighteenth century in the Tatsuno domain in modern Hyōgo Prefecture. Significantly, however, this ceremony has features which suggest accommodation to the Tokugawa status quo. The Tatsuno Bunko holds a set of manuscripts logging apparently once-annual rituals to honor Confucius in an unofficial school run by a Matano 股野 kindred, of peasant origin.⁷⁴ A preface to the extant manuscripts by a Tatsuno doctor, Ueda Jūkei 上田重圭, dated to autumn 1768, extolled how Master Matano Gyokusen 玉川 (1730–1806) “grieved that the road of learning was neglected and the rules of ritual had become lax and not one ten thousandth remained whereby to requite the rites of ancient predecessors. So, on the first *hinoto* 丁 day of spring and autumn, he cleans a room and takes waterweed and ladles pure water to make offerings to the ancient predecessors. This deserves the description ‘restoring the broken and raising up the destroyed.’”⁷⁵ The language is worth comment. For “restoring the broken and raising up the destroyed” quotes the canonical *Doctrine of the Mean*, where it describes the intervention of enlightened rulers. Here is an instance of the empowerment that participation in the cult of Confucius could confer, even on politically disprivileged commoners.

The Matano ceremony itself was an informal, convivial affair. It has an air of ease and enjoyment. The hall is decorated with two flower vases; the quality of the offerings is “excellent,” and they are no doubt consumed by the company with appreciation.⁷⁶ Yet the moral mission is kept in view. The proceedings are initiated with a friendly, almost chatty, invitation for guests to attend and contribute to the ceremony:

74. Matano Jūmi, *Jōtei saigi shi shiki*. I am grateful to Tatsuno City Library for kindly supplying a photographic copy of this material. For the Matano kindred, see Kasai, *Kinsei hankō ni okeru gakutō*, 2: 1034–36.

75. Paraphrasing the norms for the ideal ruler in *Doctrine of the Mean*, xx,14; CC 1: 409.

76. The names of participants are copiously recorded over successive years. It would be rewarding to trace the status of these participants in order to place the ceremony in its social context, research best done in Tatsuno itself.

Times passes on; the wild geese will soon come. Next month, the day *hinoto-mi* following the auspicious *hinoe-tatsu* is truly a celebratory day.⁷⁷ Your servant will offer paltry vegetables to ancient predecessors. He dares to invite his honored elder brothers, if they have leisure to take pleasure in attendance and so to assist in my modest oblations. Respectfully, I give notice.

After “words of welcome to the spirits,” the liturgy runs through a series of conventional stages consisting of offerings and so on. However, it includes a “private invocation” that, unusually in the cult of Confucius, has a petitionary feel. It resonates uncannily with the Anglican prayer for the British monarch and establishment.

On behalf of our Sage Emperor, our worthy Shogun, the noble families, the daimyo, the county samurai, that they receive lives of great length; on behalf of our lord and his heir and his sons and kindred that they be happy and contented, long-lived and strong; that those under their command be untroubled and affluent; and for our group of fellow students, that the substance of the Way be tranquil; and the learning of the Sages be prosperous. We respectfully recite the Sages’ classics; and respectfully progress to [grasping] their innermost meaning. Hereby I pray to this effect.

In a lecture sequence following the sacrifice, Matano, as lecturer, salutes the guests and “has them seated at ease”; he reads from the *Classic of Filial Piety*, expounds “one or two verses” and responds to any questions. Unusually, women participated at this stage. In the spring of 1794, “after dark the Shiho daughter 志保女 had a question”; in the log for the spring of 1797 among spectators were “the wife of Mr Imura and the daughter of Mr Amano”; and in the spring of 1800, the same is recorded of the dowagers and wives of the Matsuo and Matsubara families. When the questions are over, in conformity with a prescription in the ancient Chinese ritual canon, the honored guests are requested to speak.⁷⁸ Then, after yet another salutation, the performance finishes, and the Leader thanks those who have assisted at the sacrifice and the guests. The scene is then set for poetry, calligraphy and other amusements and cultural skills (*yūgei* 遊芸) with “everyone suiting himself with what he likes, so to bring to an end a whole day of pure rejoicing.” The log entry for this ceremony concludes with the

77. *Hinoto* was the day calendrically ordained for the *sekiten*; *hinoe-tatsu* was especially auspicious for worshipping ancestral spirits.

78. “Wenwang shizi,” Legge, *Li chi* 1: 347; at the “Nourishing of the old” they were “begged to speak (*qiyan* 乞言) [wise counsels]”; also “Neize,” *ibid.*, 468.

claim that: “One would say that it drew out the subtle meaning of the sacrifice.”

Perhaps something of the basic optimism of Confucianism is recovered here in the relative prosperity and security of mid Tokugawa. Though this is an unofficial, commoner ritual, it contains liturgical elements both of cultural celebration and moral empowerment.⁷⁹ It is, however, in no way subversive. As expressed in the prayer for the safety and longevity alike of the emperor and the military officers of the Tokugawa state, this ceremony underwrites the structure and values of the Tokugawa polity

But the Tatsuno politically neutralized ceremony was no exception to the trend of co-optation by samurai estate domain officialdom that applied to Tekisai's Saga ceremony. By 1794, Matano Gyokusen had already “respectfully had the privilege of welcoming the honored conveyance” of his daimyo to the service. In 1831, if not before, the unofficial Matano academy was refounded as the domain school, Keirakukan 敬樂館.⁸⁰ Services continued, according to the domain's reply to the Meiji-period questionnaire from the Monbushō, in both in spring and autumn.⁸¹ The Matano family continued to hold office in the domain school until the Restoration.⁸² But they were now officials in the domain samurai administration. Their school and they themselves now served the samurai community as officials of their feudal state.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, official performance of the ritual to venerate Confucius could offer rewards to feudal authorities in their domain schools. It is not difficult to see why they appropriated unofficial performances. Their motivation, like that of their co-optation of the schools that hosted these ceremonies, was no doubt complex and various. It was perhaps partly prudential,

79. The ceremony seems likely to have been of open admission; this, however, requires further research only possible in Tatsuno itself.

80. Kasai, *Kinsei hankō ni okeru gakutō*, 2: 1031. The final volume in the series covers the years 1806–09; the format is different from the preceding volumes, and it may be that the status of the school changed from the former date.

81. NKSS 6: 102-3. Yet the extant log covering the earlier history does not document more than one ceremony in any one calendar year; the claim of twice-yearly observances, like other such claims, may apply only to the period after the domain's formal takeover of the school; or it may be aspirational or rhetorical.

82. Kasai, *Kinsei hankō ni okeru gakutō*, 2: 1034-35.

to contain a potentially unsettling ceremony within the hierarchically-ordered warrior estate and so pre-emptively to prevent its appropriation by politically subordinate strata. But motivation may also have been partly educational and even altruistic, to exploit expertise and moral discipline for the perceived public good of their domains; political and moral, to find a compass for their own rulership; partly symbolic, to map baronial rulership onto an ancient regime under which the provinces of Japan had witnessed the ceremony performed by provincial governors; and cultural, to appropriate an attractive and even enjoyable set of practices that gave them a role and demonstrated their cultural superiority as an elite charged with rulership. By the end of feudalism, approximately 80 percent of domain schools claimed some sort of ceremony to venerate Confucius.

By contrast, unofficial and commoner performance did not prosper. Matsunaga Sekigo's evocation of a socio-political order based on culture and some form of soft government and sacralized in a ceremony of cultural celebration did not survive in Kyoto. Nor was the expansive and classless universal moral empowerment vision of Nakamura Tekisai sacralized by Zhu Xi's retreat ceremony perpetuated beyond the lifetime of its initiator. Even the accommodating and in no way unsettling ceremony of the Matano in Tatsuno was no exception; it, too, was in due course engrossed by official expropriation. The liturgical history of the cult of Confucius would seem to run in parallel with the claims of E. H. Norman and Robert Bellah, who found little incidence of radical or liberal alternatives to the dominant trend of Tokugawa thought.⁸³

Why was this? Full exploration of the causes would require an anatomization of the Tokugawa socio-political order and its value system, beyond the scope of this chapter. It would certainly refer to the analysis of the primacy of political values offered by Bellah, to the question of security and to the technology of political control. It would also refer to the persistently hereditary and ascriptive structure of Japanese society, which made private academic institutions vulnerable to the chances of inheriting academic talent across generations. But in addition to the political interests of the feudal elite in retaining control over the ceremony, there were complementary reasons from the side of the commoners to suggest why independent and commoner ceremonies may not have flourished. In particular, the ethos of the ceremony contained unsettling nuances for those outside the warrior estate. Though Zhu's retreat liturgy was formally independent of government, it is well to be

83. Bellah. *Tokugawa Religion*, 184-85.

reminded that it was fostered among members, or aspirants to membership, of the *literatus stratum* from which Chinese officialdom was recruited. For men of this background, official service under an enlightened Confucian ruler remained an ideal of self-fulfillment. In Japan, however, this aspect of the ceremony would have had less cogency or traction; the Chinese *stratum* of *literati* aspiring to office on the basis of Confucian learning had no sizable counterpart. True, the ceremony offered cultural rewards in such as musical performance and, in many versions, the chance to compose Chinese verse. But a whole dimension of the ceremony that featured in the versions of the Sinitic kingdoms, its synergy with the examination system and access to political authority, was lacking. “Moral empowerment” was in principle available in Japan from Neo-Confucianism, and indigenous schools of Confucian thought, or from syncretic teachings combining elements of Confucianism with Shinto or Buddhism. However, in a society where social and political roles were hereditarily determined, the exercise of political responsibility, the end with which it was ideally linked, Confucian-style empowerment must have seemed a remote ideal to samurai, and was, for many, incongruous with their warrior vocation. To unenfranchized commoners, it must surely have held even less attraction. Confucianism, furthermore, offered little in the way of obvious sublunary reward; it did not offer life after death. For many it also remained recondite, bookish, and linguistically and culturally alien.

Moreover, perhaps paradoxically in view of its universalism, there were also pressures from within the Confucian tradition itself that inhibited adoption of the ceremony unofficially or among commoners. Like all major traditions, Confucianism was complex and capable of underwriting diverse, sometimes inconsistent or conflicting, attitudes. Certainly, Confucian teaching contained a universal and egalitarian potential, as claimed at the outset of this chapter. Generally, however, its view of the polity and of sovereignty, like the framework of authority within which it was practiced, tended towards the monarchical, autocratic, elitist, centrist, hierarchical, and authoritarian. The status of ritual in this structure was defined in Confucian canonical texts. A couple of canonical quotations illustrate this: “The rules of ceremony do not go down to the common people.”⁸⁴ “When good government prevails in the empire, music and punitive military expeditions proceed from the Son of Heaven. When bad government prevails in the empire, ceremonies, music, and punitive expeditions proceed from

84. “Qūli,” Legge tr., *Li chi*, 1: 90.

the princes.”⁸⁵

This and similar attitudes of respect to hierarchical authority were widely accepted among the Japanese Confucian community, including those of commoner status. The well-known Kogidō 古義堂 of the commoner Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627–1705), opened in 1662, attracted numbers of students to rival Sekigo himself and lasted until the Restoration. Jinsai himself admired the worship of Confucius, despite the Sage’s historically low status, from a commoner’s typically universalist perspective.

There is none that does not venerate the Master. Ritually, respectfully dressing him in the apparel of an emperor and using the rites of an emperor, in the middle months of spring and autumn the emperor personally attends the academy, and, from the University above to the schools of province and prefecture below, and extending beyond to lands of [wearing] barbarian dress, they respectively perform the *sekiten* and pay their respect to him.”⁸⁶

But his son Tōgai (1670–1736), though he too lauded the diffusion of the *sekiten* throughout East Asia,⁸⁷ wrote that “the *sekiten* is a major court ritual and is not one to be observed in a private house. However, if, as it might be, one has a picture or a clay image, why should it not be permissible to venerate that?”⁸⁸ What he had in mind was specified in the Itō house rules:

On the first *hinoto* day of the second and eighth months, we sacrificed to it with a plate of washed rice and two *katsuobushi* (dried bonito) and bowed to it wearing *asakamishimo* 麻袴; that is all. We had no observance of the *sekisai* beyond that.⁸⁹

This form of worship seems not so much unofficial as simply domestic and private.

In conclusion, at the beginning of the Tokugawa period, the retreat liturgy of Zhu Xi offered Japanese from outside the politically empowered samurai estate a chance legitimately to express collective devotion to Confucius. It suggested a bridge to the adoption of this

85. *Analects* XVI, 2 (i); CC 1: 310.

86. Itō Jinsai, *Dōjimon*, 193.

87. *Ibid.*

88. Itō Tōgai, *Shōjutsu Sensei bunshū* quoted in Ishida, *Itō Jinsai*, 45. The Itōs seem to have made a greater effort, on a daily basis, with the Confucian family cult: “funerals and ancestral worship” followed the Zhu Xi *Wengong jiali* and the like “with adjustments,” together with established practice. Katō, *Itō Jinsai no gakumon*, 881–82.

89. *Ibid.*, 82; *asakamishimo* was samurai and commoner male formal dress consisting of hemp-thread woven jacket and skirt, usually grey.

important performative aspect of Confucianism in Japan. Two scholars found in this ceremony the opportunity to express distinctive understandings of the tradition, privileging the historical culture and imperial court of the Heian period in the case of Sekigo and a belief in universal moral empowerment in the case of Tekisai. Neither these men nor their followers pursued an agenda of class hostility; still less were they revolutionaries. Their *sekiten* performances were not subversive in intention; they fall short, even as rumblings, of what, in the Chinese context has been called “sub-revolutionary educational discontent.”⁹⁰

Matsunaga Sekigo and Taketomi Rensai enjoyed patronage from cultivated members of the feudal elite; the ceremonies of both were initially undertaken with the permission and even the support of feudal authorities. But it can reasonably be claimed that Tokugawa society was inhospitable to their ecumenical vision of Confucianism. In addition to Bakufu caution over the revival of Confucianism in Kyoto, Sekigo’s vision fell victim to a combination of circumstances, the foreclosure of the Bakufu on Go-Kōmyō’s proposal to revive a Confucian shrine in Kyoto and the failure of his lineage to inherit academic talent. In the case of Tekisai, his vision of a Confucian ritual shared by all was frustrated by the co-optation by feudal authority of the schools in which it was performed. Each of these men, however, offered a glimpse of an expansive understanding of Confucianism before the tradition was engrossed by the Japanese late feudal leviathan. In the long duration, however, their cause was not lost. In the fullness of time, as a consequence of the Meiji Restoration two centuries and more later, Confucian universalism and meritocracy gained acceptance and access to high culture and universal education was to become an accessible ideal.

Abbreviations

- CC Legge, James, trans. *The Chinese Classics*. Original ed., 1865–93. Reprint. 5 vols. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960. Monbushō 文部省, comp.
- KJBS *Kinsei Juka bunshū shūsei* 近世儒家文集集成. 16 vols. Perikansha, 1985–99.
- NKSS *Nihon kyōiku shi shiryō* 日本教育史資料. 10 vols. Fuzan Bō, 1890–92.
- MN *Monumenta Nipponica*.

90. Woodside, “The Divorce between the Political Center and Educational Creativity,” 458.

- NS Nagoya-shi Kyōiku linkai 名古屋市教育委員会 ed., *Kōtei fukkoku Nagoya sō* 訂復刻名古屋叢書 1. Nagoya: Aiichi-Ken Kyōdo Shiryō Kankōkai, 1982
- NST *Nihon shisō taiki* 日本思想体系. 67 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1970–present.
- SBBY *Sibu beiya* 四部備要. 348 vols. Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1936 *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Wenyuan ge 文淵閣 ed.). 5000 vols. Taiwan: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986.
- SKQS *Siku quanshu* 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.
- WOC McMullen, James. *The Worship of Confucius in Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020.

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APPENDIX 4

Early Tokugawa period Confucian attitudes to the *sekiten*

This appendix provides introductory references and information concerning the views on the *sekiten* of Confucian scholars either samurai themselves or associated with the warrior estate.¹

There is little evidence that leading Confucian thinkers of the early Tokugawa period themselves made the *sekiten* a priority, seriously advocated, or themselves performed, a regular sacrificial ritual to venerate Confucius. Most, however, accepted that the ritual had been performed in Japanese antiquity, but seemed reluctant to advise its revival in their own present. What follows cites briefly what evidence there is, listing the major Confucians in order of their date of birth.

Nakae Tōju 中江藤樹 (1608–48)

Tōju pursued a life of study and teaching at his Tōju Shoin 藤樹書院 from 1634 after absconding from active samurai service (*dappan* 脱藩) in the Ōzu domain until his death in 1648. He is usually associated with the subjectivist Chinese Ming dynasty Neo-Confucian school of Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1473–1529). There seems to be no evidence of any regular *sekiten sekisai* ceremony at his school. However, Tōju himself was the author of a

1. For the views on the *shidian/sekisai* of Confucians not associated directly with the samurai estate, see appendix 3: “Unofficial and Commoner Worship of Confucius in Tokugawa Japan.”

painting of Confucius.² Such images were often used as objects of veneration, and some sort of service in front of this image cannot be ruled out.

Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇齋 (1618–82)

Ansai did not oppose the ceremony in principle and acknowledged its place in Japanese history. Surveying the history of the rite, he wrote: “From the reign of the forty-second emperor Monmu [r. 697–707], the *sekiten* was practised and lectures held by annual rote on the *Classic of Filial Piety*, *Analects* and so on. The next day, the sacrificial meat (*hoborogi* 胙) was offered to the emperor. The ceremony is in the *Engishiki* and *Kō shidai* [*sc. Gōke shidai*].” However, he complained that the Ashikaga school, the leading medieval school associated with Confucianism, had been taken over by Buddhist monks; and

when recently I went to Kanazawa in Sagami, even the old foundation stones had gone and I was told that the few books that survived had been placed in the Mirokudō 彌勒堂 where I was shown them. This is a sad state.³

Though Ansai conceded the legitimacy of the historical ceremony he did not promote the *sekiten* in his own world. He was cautious over the use of Chinese ritual in Japan. With regard to Confucian ritual, the following well-known anecdote reported and endorsed by his leading disciple Asami Keisai 浅見綱齋 (1652–1711), seems to associate Chinese rituals with a threat to Japanese independence.

Master Yamazaki once said: “If an attempt were to be made to subjugate Japan from China, if an army was involved, even were Yao, Shun Wen or Wu to come as generals, it would be one’s great righteousness to destroy them even with stones, fire and arrows. Even if they tried to subjugate Japan with ritual, righteousness and

2. Inoue, *Nihon Yōmei gakuha no tetsugaku*, illustration between pp. 60-61. It bore the inscription by the Song painter and poet Mi Fei 米芾 (1051–1107): Confucius! Confucius! How great is Confucius! Before Confucius there never was a Confucius. After Confucius still less will there be a Confucius. Confucius! Confucius! How great is Confucius! 孔子、孔子。大哉孔子。孔子以前、既無孔子。孔子以後、更無孔子。孔子孔子、大哉孔子。

3. Yamazaki, *Yamato shōgaku*, 3-4.

transformation by virtue, it would be best not to become their vassal. This is the way of the *Spring and autumn annals*.” This is very clear.⁴

As Confucian advisor to Hoshina Masayuki 保科正之 daimyo of Aizu, Ansai seems to have promoted indigenous sources of sacralization, notably by underwriting the tutelary role of the deified Masayuki.⁵ He advised on the establishment of a cult of the daimyo himself, rather than initiate a *sekiten*. Ansai developed an interpretation of Confucianism that linked Confucian morality schematically to Japanese mythology. This system formed the basis for the development of Confucian-Shinto syncretism known as Suika Shintō 垂加神道, the complex and obscurantist but historically important form of Confucian-Shinto syncretic belief. This construction was destined to form the basis for the court’s revival of interest in the ceremony. It was influential in the Hōreki incident (1758), and formed the basis of Mito ideology, which, in turn, provided the basis for the derogation of Confucius in the Bakumatsu period.⁶ Though his impact on the ceremony was indirect, Ansai remains one of the most seminal figures in the long history of the ceremony in Japan.

Ansai owned a statue of Confucius, but not until the Genroku period and after his death was an image of the Sage once in his possession placed in a lecture room to form a Sage’s Shrine.⁷

Asami Keisai 浅見訥齋 (1652–1711)

Ansai’s cautious approach was to be perpetuated and developed by his direct disciples, among whom nationalism and particularism impinged explicitly upon the *sekiten* ritual itself.

4. Asami, *Seiken igen kōgi* [preface dated 1689], quoted in Hara, *Sentetsu sōdan*, 119. Not all the Kimon school shared this view. Satō Naokata, who inclined towards universalism, wrote:

I believe that even now, when a great sage emerges in China, occupies his [proper] rank and transformation by virtue is enacted to beyond the four seas, Japan too should follow among their number, and that it would be right to submit as vassals. However, if a sage were to use violence like the Mongols, then one should resist. However, a sage would not be expected to behave like that. (Ibid., 120).

5. See Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*, 143-50.

6. See *WOC* chapter 12: “Suika Shinto,” ch. 13, “Yoshimune and Ritual, the Hōreki Incident, and the Palace ‘First Hinoto’ Ceremonies,” and chapter 17: “The syncretism of Mito: the special case.” Suika Shinto is the subject of Herman Ooms’s wide-ranging analysis in *Tokugawa Ideology*, especially chapter 7: “Suika and Kimon: The Way and Language.”

7. *NKSS* 2: 537, 1: 681.

The leading Kimon disciple Asami Keisai was the author of an essay condemning the unofficial worship of Confucius in Japan, “Hi sekiten saku” 批釈奠策 (Critique of the *Sekiten*).⁸ Like Ansai, he did not impugn the historical Japanese state *sekiten* of “middle antiquity,” but the case was different when commoners (*shojin* 庶人) presumed to observe the rite.⁹ He argued from an assumption that, while Heaven and Earth were a harmonious unity, there were differentiations of form, system, customs, languages and people amongst them. These distinctions had to be respected. “Needless to say, this is the case with setting up their sacrifices and spirits! Spirits are what the national substance values.”¹⁰ Keisai’s argument here is against unofficial worship of non-native spirits. It should be remembered that up to the end of the Kansei reform the Rinke Academy was still widely perceived as at least a semi-private institution, thus in terms of Keisai’s argument it was formally unqualified to perform the *sekiten*.¹¹ There is little direct evidence of how these ideas influenced the thinking concerning the *sekiten* of the group of Kimon scholars appointed by Sadanobu. Each had his own history and background and related in his own way to the reform.

Kumazawa Banzan 熊沢蕃山 (1619–91)

Banzan is often classified as a follower of the subjectivist Neo-Confucian school of Wang Yangming. He is associated with the Hanabata Kyōjō 花畠教場 (Flower meadow school), a short-lived Confucian educational group from around 1650 in the Okayama domain ruled by the Confucian-minded daimyo Ikeda Mitsumasa. It is conceivable that some sort of veneration of Confucius was practiced there.¹² But, Banzan, true to his subjectivism, would also refer to “rituals and regulations” as “the dregs of the Sages.”¹³ In 1669, however, after he had

8. Asami, “Hi sekiten saku” 90-91. For a fuller account of Keisai’s views, see Ri, “Kinsei Nihon no sekiten wo meguru shisō,” 90-91.

9. Asami, “Hi sekiten saku,” 90; it may well be that Keisai included contemporary warrior observances in his indictment. For a view of domain ceremonies as still “private” at the end of the period, see the return to the Monbushō questionnaire (question on religious observances) from the Mito domain sent in by the “former domain lord”: “Because our Academy basically partakes of a private school we do not necessarily follow the court system”; *NKSS* 1: 345.

10. Asami, “Hi sekiten saku,” 90.

11. In contemporary perception, the Hayashi academy ceremony retained the character of a private ceremony; see Nakamura, “Hishū Saga Taketomi shi Kōshi shiki,” 279.

12. See McMullen, *Idealism, Protest*, 99-101.

13. Kumazawa, *Shūgi gaisho*, 172.

resigned from the Okayama domain service, he was invited by Mitsumasa to play the leading role in the opening service venerating Confucius to mark the re-foundation of a domain school.¹⁴

Banzan accepted in principle the ceremonies prescribed in Zhu Xi's *Wengong jiali* 文公家礼, though he thought that to be practicable in contemporary Japan they would have to be reduced.¹⁵ He was aware of the importance of ritual in objectifying the Confucian way: "For the scholars of the world to establish ritual in both sacrifice and mourning is good; when the learning of the Way is weak, if [rituals] are not established, the Way will not be displayed."¹⁶ He expressed himself quietly in favour of the *sekiten* in principle, even suggesting in the context of the "systems of rites, music, offices, ranks and apparel" historically transmitted to Japan from China, that "because they were discontinued, we are unaccustomed to the sight of them. . . . But if we were to revive the teachings that of old flourished in schools in Japan as well [as in China] and the *shakuten* [*sc. sekiten*] and the like, it would be a rare thing."¹⁷

Banzan was something of a determinist, and showed some insight into the nature of sacrifice in Japan: differences in ritual culture, he argued, were determined by environmental and economic factors:

In China, oxen are employed to sacrifice to the spirits. But in Japan there is a serious taboo on this. This derives from the geographical climate. China is a large country and is highly productive, so, since oxen have excellent flavor; they are utilized. However, there are rules of the category of offering which vary according to rank and stipend. Japan is a small country, and, if there were a shortage of oxen, the work of ploughing and cultivation could not be performed. Moreover, heavy weights could not be moved, nor transports to distant places effected. Accordingly, in Shinto eating oxen was placed under taboo. That there was next a taboo on deer was on account of the fear that, if [sacrificing] deer were permitted, when the supply was exhausted, oxen would be next. It is not that oxen and deer bring

14. Nagayama, *Ikeda Mitsumasa Kōden*, 1: 865.

15. Kumazawa, *Shūgi giron kikigaki*, 21.

16. Kumazawa, *Shūgi gaisho*, 14.

17. Kumazawa, *Shūgi Washo* 100-101.

defilement to the spirits, but, once a law has been set up, it is wrong to infringe it. It is the defilement of (infringing a ritual regulation) from which one should abstain.¹⁸

Yamaga Sokō 山鹿素行 (1622–85)

Sokō is regarded as a founder of the “Ancient Learning” (Kogaku 古学) school, but he was known in his own time as a military thinker. He does not seem to have endorsed sacrificial veneration to Confucius. His *Nenpu* 年譜 (Annual record) states that in 1671 he displayed and offered incense to a picture of the Chinese military strategist Zhang Liang 張良 (died 186 BCE), and, from 1677 he set up and made obeisance to tablets representing the Shinto deities Ise Daijingu 伊勢大神宮, Ōmine Daigongen 大峰大権現 and Suwa Daimyōjin 諏訪大明神.¹⁹ Sokō is associated with the Akō domain, but there is no firm evidence of a *sekiten* ceremony there during his lifetime.²⁰ Perhaps his strong interest in military matters and in Japan as possessing separate traditions from China, together with an apparent antipathy to Confucianism ritual as a personal practice, account for his indifference to the cult of Confucius.

Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 (1630–1714)

Ekiken, samurai Confucian scholar, noted in his *Wa-Kan meisū zokuhen* 和漢名数続編 (Numbered categories in Japan and China, continued; printed edn. 1695) that the ancient ceremony had “finally ceased” after 767 years with the military burning of the capital in 1467.²¹ His note does not trace performance of the ceremony into his own age. He was *jidoku* 侍読 (lector) to the Fukuoka daimyo, but there is no evidence of any Confucian ceremony in that domain until the foundation of a school in 1784.²²

18. Kumazawa, *Shūgi gaisho*, 31.

19. Yamaga, *Nenpu*, 41; 48.

20. *NKSS* 6: 102.

21. Kaibara, *Wa-Kan meisū*, 877.

22. *NKSS* 3: 20.

Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725)

Hakuseki devoted much thought to aspects of “spirits,” whose existence he explained rationally, and to sacrifice, whose efficacy in influencing events he seems to acknowledge.²³ His general approach to the subject tended to emphasize two factors: the differentiation of sacrifice by status of the performer and, less insistently, the local principle. He gave, however, no special theoretical consideration to the sacrifice to Confucius. However, in his well-known *Kishinron* 鬼神論, he referred to the ancient history of Confucian sacrifice in “the University (Daigakuryō 大学寮) pre-eminently, and in the various provinces,” thus implicitly recognizing the appropriateness of sacrifice to Confucius in Japan.²⁴ But Hakuseki believed in the sacrifice to rulers. His essay *Saishikō* 祭祀考 (Investigation of sacrifice) ended with an impassioned plea for “rites and music” to secure the cosmic order and more particularly to supply an heir for the Tokugawa ruling house.²⁵

Hakuseki viewed the sacrifice to Confucius more positively than other samurai Confucians of the period. He used his position as advisor to the sixth Tokugawa shogun 家宣 (r. 1709–12) actively to promote its performance by the shogun himself.²⁶ He devoted energy to historical research on the subject in order to identify a historically authentic version. In his *Seizōkō* 聖像考 (Investigation of the images of the Sage), a well-informed discussion of the physical representation of Confucius to be venerated, he discussed the historical record concerning the iconography of Confucius. He was concerned with clay representations and pictures in particular, and quotes the views of a number of Chinese authorities, including Cheng Yichuan 程伊川 (1033–1107) that representations had to be exact down to every hair; and of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) that the visual representation of Confucius was not an ancient practice.²⁷ The essay provides a review of the Ming dynasty Jiajing 嘉靖 reform of the *sekiten* in 1530.

23. Arai, *Saishikō*, 487.

24. Arai, *Kishinron*, 20–21.

25. Arai, *Saishikō*, 487.

26. For a fuller account of Hakuseki’s intervention, see *WOC* chapter 11, subsections: “The sixth Shogun and Arai Hakuseki” and “The Shogun’s Sacrifice.”

27. Arai, *Seizōkō*, 490.

The emperor himself reformed all the rituals whereby Confucius was to be worshiped and distributed them to his ministers. They all submitted memorials of agreement, and so the emperor reformed the ritual for worshiping the Former Sage first and foremost, the various worthies of the Confucian school and right down to the previous Confucians who had been accorded secondary worship over later ages. Their images were all cast aside and they were worshiped through use of spirit tablets (however, the spirit tablets used at this time were not of the ancient pattern.) In the 13th year of the same [Jiajing era, 1522–66], the emperor in person made a progress to the University and made sacrifice to Confucius. Accordingly, so tradition goes, he was given as his name the name Seisō 世宗 (C. Shizong); this was because these actions transcended the millennia.²⁸

Hakuseki's essay ends with a reference to his having "over recent years in leisure from lecturing having attempted to consider these matters in detail and privately written not a little about them." He confessed his own lack of status qualification to discuss the ceremony.²⁹ There is little doubt, however, that Hakuseki wished to link performance of the *sekiten* to the shogun, whom he wished to establish as the autocratic monarch of Japan.

Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728)

Sorai was the most original Confucian of the period to express views on the *sekiten*. His firm views on the subject are expressed in the context of his radically new, authoritarian, and utilitarian reading of the Confucian tradition.

Sorai's philosophy represented a profound shift of teleology in Confucianism from the individual soteriological ends of Zhu Xi Neo-Confucianism to political and societal goals. Sorai believed that model political and religious institutions of government had been instituted by men of great wisdom in the ancient Chinese past in response to the conditions of their times. Their purpose was instrumentally to procure the desired end of the happiness of the greatest number. The worship of spirits, irrespective of whether they existed or not, was a

28. Ibid., 491.

29. Ibid., 491-92.

“technique” of rulership created by the “former kings.”³⁰ Sorai may be precisely characterized in Western terms as an “elite authoritarian managerial utilitarian.”³¹

As a Confucian scholar, Sorai was familiar with the *sekiten* ceremony. Superficially, given his belief in ritual institutions and in the instrumental, utilitarian uses of spirit worship he might have been expected to be favorably disposed to the ritual veneration of the principal figure in the Confucian tradition. However, Sorai absolutized the legacy of the “former kings” and his thought, while respectful of Confucius himself, did not number him among the great “creator sages,” the culture heroes of the remote Chinese past. Of the status of Confucius himself he was agnostic: “I do not venture to call him a Sage, but nor again do I deny that he is a Sage.”³² Rather, Confucius’s role had been to document the record of these earlier seminal figures through his compilation of the Confucian canon. With his utilitarian belief in the value of spirit worship, moreover, went a deep and countervailing antipathy to that branch of the Confucian tradition associated with self-cultivation, individual subjectivity, and what Sorai identified as “disputatiousness” associated with Mencius in particular, and Zi Si, and the Song and Ming Neo-Confucians.³³ He seems likely to have felt that the proliferation of venerands in the *sekiten* empowered undesirable individual opinions and subjectivity. He was also a keen historicist, and knew that the special rite to honor Confucius was not part of the original legacy of the ancient Chinese and in both China and Japan had little ancient authority. In his early thought, he seems to have approved of the ceremony in principle, but found serious fault in its historical and contemporary practice. The arguments for worshipping Confucius, Sorai believed, had been “confused.” In his *Ken’en jippitsu* 護園十筆, dated by Hiraishi Naoaki to around 1716, he explored the principles behind veneration of Confucius in

30. Ogyū, *Benmei*, 238;131; Tucker ed. and tr., *Ogyū Sorai’s Philosophical Masterworks*, 275.

31. The reading of Sorai’s thought and influence presented here is based on the following: McMullen: “Reinterpreting the *Analects*”; “Ogyū Sorai and the Definition of Terms”; and Tucker ed. and tr.: *Ogyū Sorai’s Philosophical Masterworks*. At a different level, see also: McMullen, “Ogyū Sorai, Matsudaira Sadanobu and the Kansei Worship of Confucius”. It may be added here that Sorai rejected “virtue ethics” as well as the deontological view of morality. Although there were virtuous men, of whom Confucius was one, the achievement of personal virtue by individuals was not the main aim of Confucian practice; nor were the Confucian virtues transcendent, natural and binding principles immanent in the human and natural worlds. See also *WOC* 12, subsection: “Ogyū Sorai.”

32. Ogyū, *Ken’en jippitsu*, 338, 548.

33. On Sorai’s hostility to Mencius, see, McMullen, “Ogyū Sorai and the Definition of Terms,” 257-58.

some detail.³⁴ There were properly three axes of honor: age, virtue and nobility, of which, in Confucius's case, virtue was pre-eminent.

Confucius is honored for his virtue. This is why he is regarded as their teacher by the emperors and kings of the ten thousand generations, so why should he borrow [a title of] nobility? Properly he should be designated [simply] as "the former Sage Confucius."³⁵

Not only were Confucius' modern titles inflated, but, possibly reacting against the grandiosity of the Genroku rites of his own time, Sorai also objected to the posthumous ennoblement of others in the tradition. He criticised what he described as "extreme" in indulgence and "presumptuous" (*sen* 僭) the awarding or removing titles of nobility, posthumous titles, and rankings to Confucius's followers in the context of the sekiten, such as "duke" (*gong* 公) on the four correlates and "feudal prince" (*hou* 侯) on the ten savants.³⁶ He wished to reduce the number of venerands in the Confucian pantheon.³⁷ Fourteen "secondary venerands" 從祀, from Yan Hui to Mencius, chosen for their seeking out of the way and virtue and for the quantity of their profound utterances and prefatory remarks, would suffice; "earlier Confucians" should be venerated in the library; and eighteen earlier worthies, from Xunji to the Neo-Confucians, including, a little surprisingly, Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming, should be worshipped in the two corridors.³⁸ Compared to the established Hayashi observance, this represented a shift away from the liturgical prominence given to the Mencian, Neo-Confucian, and Rinke traditions, for the "Six Gentlemen of Song" are not identified separately as "secondary venerands." Though Sorai's list was up-to-date in Chinese terms, its general emphasis was closer to pre-Song, Tang versions of the ceremony, before the rediscovery and privileging of Mencius as a key link in the transmission of the Way (*daotong* 道統) and before the development of the Neo-Confucian form of the tradition celebrated in the Rinke tradition.

34. Hiraishi, *Ogyū Sorai nenpu*, 103.

35. Alluding to *Mencius*, Iib: 2; vi; Legge, tr. In *CC* 2: 213-14.

36. Ogyū, *Ken'en jippitsu*, 495-96; 216-17. Sorai's stripped down selection for veneration in the ceremony is given in *ibid.*, 496; 217.

37. *Ibid.*, 496; 217.

38. *Ibid.*

By the time of his full intellectual maturity, Sorai seems to have grown even more critical of the contemporary cult of Confucius and its pantheon of spirits. He cut down the figure of Confucius himself to a fallible, time-bound, albeit virtuous, human being, though historically important for his transmission of the Sages' teaching. Consistently, he appeared in his *Benmei* of ca. 1720 to refrain from endorsing Confucius himself as an object of sacrifice. Only sagehood, a status confined to those who had created the objective rituals and institutions of social organization that constitute the true Way, qualified for veneration in schools. He described the *sekiten* as applying to the “seven creator sages” Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu, and the duke of Zhou.³⁹

In respect of his ideas on ritual, on the *sekiten* in particular, and more broadly his political thought, Sorai remains one of the formative influences in the long-term development of the Japanese *sekiten*.⁴⁰ But he does not seem to have sought to impose his skeptical view on others. He referred positively in his *Seidan* to the *sekisai* in the domain school in Hagi (369,000 *koku* Meirinkan 明倫館, opened in 1719).⁴¹ His disciple Yamagata Shūnan 山県周南 (1687–1752) was, with a colleague, responsible for the construction of the Confucian shrine at this school and for drafting the *sekiten* directives for use there.⁴² Sorai's eulogy of Shūnan's father Ryōsai 良斎 (1648–1728) on the occasion of his 80th birthday (1727) concludes with verses extolling the shrine and its students dressed in blue for the *sekiten* rite.⁴³

Abbreviations

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.

39. Ogyū, *Benmei*, 217; 66: Tucker tr., *Ogyū Sorai's Philosophical Masterworks*, 200. But Sorai referred positively in his *Seidan* to the *sekisai* to venerate Confucius in the domain school in the Mōri 毛利 domain of Hagi; Ogyū, *Seidan*, 442; Lidin tr., *Ogyū Sorai's Discourse*, 320.

40. See *WOC* chapter 12, subsection: “Ogyū Sorai”, chapter 14, subsection: “The influence of Sorai and Nativism”, and chapter 16, subsection: “Circumstantial Evidence of Sorai's Influence.”

41. Ogyū, *Seidan*, 442; Lidin tr., *Ogyū Sorai's Discourse*, 320.

42. Kasai, *Kinsei hankō ni okeru gakutō*, 2: 1281–83.

43. *Sorai shū*, 94–95.

- MN* *Monumenta Nipponica*.
- NST* *Nihon shisō taikēi* 日本思想体系. 67 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1970–present.
- SNS* *Sōsho Nihon no shisōka, dai ikki* 双書日本の思想家, 第一期. 50 vols. Meitoku Shuppansha, 1977–present.
- WOC* McMullen, James. *The Worship of Confucius in Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020.

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 ———. *Saishikō* 祭祀考. In *Arai Hakuseki zenshū* 新井白石全集, vol. 6.
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APPENDIX 5

Notes on the Shōkōkan Documents

These notes explore a group of manuscripts and diagrams from the Shōkōkan 彰考館, the library founded under that name in Koishikawa, Edo, in 1672, by the second daimyo of Mito Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川光圀 (1628–1700). Now in the Tokugawa Museum, Mito, this group relates to Zhu Shunshui's cycle of rehearsals for the *shidian* 稊奠 ritual conducted over the years 1672–73.¹ The description and analysis offered here should be read in conjunction with the narrative account presented in *The Worship of Confucius* chapter 9: “The Rehearsal of a Foreign Rite: Zhu Shunshui and Tokugawa Mitsukuni.” The aim is to present evidence for the origins, textual status, and historical authority of the main extant manuscripts directly concerned with the rehearsals, particularly that of the *textus receptus* of the directives.²

I The Manuscripts

The archive contains two *Watoji-bon* 和綴じ本 (double-sided leaves stitched together down the outer edges) books, each assembling originally discrete contemporary documents, many untitled. The two books contain transcriptions of Chinese directives for the ceremony, texts documenting the rehearsals by Shunshui or his students, and two *genkai* 諺解 (vernacular expositions), a genre created and named in Korea, of vernacular renderings of Chinese texts,

1. A selection of high quality reproductions of the covers and several pages from each of the two *Watoji-bon* described below, together with brief introductions and measurements is published in Dechuan Zhenmu (Tokugawa Maki) 徳川真木 comp., *Riben Dechuan Bowuguan*, 149-66.

2. In what follows, titles and brief quotations originally written by Chinese or intended by their authors to be so read are transcribed in Chinese. Titles and other material significantly edited or written by Japanese and intended to be read in Japanese are transcribed in that language. It has not been felt necessary to transliterate longer quotations or the titles of diagrams.

but in effect having also the nature of commentaries, that relate to the two campaigns.³ Some of these documents bear emendations and interpolations that suggest practical use in study or performance. The evidence that they provide concerning the rehearsals is, significantly, not always consistent. They are argued here to be best viewed as a series of working scripts or charts for an evolving project. When sequentially ordered, they reveal the rehearsals as a dynamic, incremental process. They also reveal aspects of Zhu Shunshui's approach to the rehearsal project and its ultimate, though unrealized, aim: the performance by Tokugawa Mituskuni and others of an authentic and dignified ritual to venerate Confucius and associated spirits in the feudal domain of Mito.

The two volumes are comprised of separate texts cataloged by the library as follows:

1. MS 04985

Watoji-bon 和綴じ本一冊: two title panels (*fusen* 付箋) glued on front cover: (i) “*Shu Shunsui shiju*” 『朱舜水指授』 (Instructions of Shu Shunsui) [subtitle]; (ii) “*Sekiten shūrai*” 『釈奠習礼儀』 (*Sekiten* rehearsal ceremony) [main title]. The volume bears a colophon on the back page, “*Enpō gan mizunoto-ushi toshi no fuyu*”; 延宝元癸丑年之冬 (sc. winter 1673), *prima facie* providing a *terminus ante quem* for its texts.

Contents

This volume contains ten texts, which were apparently originally discrete, spanning over ninety-four double-sided sheets. Five are Chinese texts. The fact that these bear *kutōten* 句読点 (punctuation marks) but not *kunten* 訓点 and *kaeriten* 返り点 (diacritical marks enabling translation into Japanese in the *kundoku* or *yomikudashi* style) suggests that they were prepared for use among the Sinologically literate group of students involved in the rehearsals. The remaining five texts are *genkai* and clearly prepared for Japanese readership.

MS04985(a) *Liyue shushidian yizhu* 『礼楽疏釈奠儀注』 (Ceremony notes on the Commentary on rites and music): a transcription of the directives for the Ming dynasty State Academy Directorate (*Guozijian* 國子監) ceremony contained in an unidentified, probably Chinese, edition of the *Pangong Liyue shu* 『類宮礼樂疏』 (Commentary on the rites and

3. Kornicki, “Hayashi Razan’s Vernacular Translations and Commentaries,” 195-96.

music of the Confucian college) of Li Zhizao.⁴ The liturgical titles of those officiating in the ceremony are clearly highlighted within rectangular borders. Added also is a *zhuwen* 祝文 (invocation), transcribed from the *Pangong Liyue shu* original, but revised to date to an unspecified month and day of Enpō 1 [1673].⁵ This is consistent with the *terminus post quem* of that year provided by the colophon to the *Watoji-bon* cited above, and clearly relates it to the 1673 second rehearsal campaign. Running on from the invocation are directives for the ceremonies for the fathers of Confucius and the four correlates, with a similarly dated invocation.⁶

MS04985(b) *Sekiten gi* 『積奠儀』 (The *sekiten* ceremony): this *genkai* presents a simplified and partial Japanese version of the section of *Pangong Liyue shu* transcribed in MS 4985a. It does not, for instance, include the sequence of offerings conducted in the cloisters of the shrine, which were introduced into the sec10a.ond campaign. Its purpose must have been to make accessible the liturgy of the ceremony to members of the rehearsing group less familiar with Chinese than the more specialist students. It should very probably be associated with the 1672 campaign.

MS04985(c) *Chenshemu* 『陳設目』, *Yueqimu* 『樂器目』, *Chenshetu* 『陳設図』 (Inventory [of paraphernalia] for arrangement; inventory of musical instruments; diagram of arrangement of paraphernalia): this continues the transcription of *Pangong Liyue shu* (04985a).⁷ The text has red-ink insertions and *kutōten* consistent with Zhu Shunshui's intervention, and confirmed as such by a red-ink interpolation in Japanese at the beginning: 此朱字朱点ハ皆々朱先生直筆ノウツシ也 (These red-ink characters and red-ink punctuation marks are all transcriptions of Master Zhu's own hand). This appears to be a working document that circulated between Zhu Shunshui and those rehearsing.

MS04985(d) Untitled text: beginning “*Zhiyu bu zhi* . . .” 「之瑜不知. . .」 (“*Zhiyu* [personal name of Shunshui] does not know. . .”): presumably originally a letter or a transcription of Zhu's discourse on general aspects of the *shidian* ceremony. The text bears red-ink *kutōten* circumstantially probably inserted by Shunshui. It discusses the appropriate

4. Li, *Pangong*, *juan* 3/10b—17b. The edition cited in this appendix is that published in *SKQS*; see bibliography below.

5. *Ibid.*, 17b-18a.

6. The source of this sequel require further investigation

7. Li, *Pangong*, *juan* 3., 5b-10a.

officers to staff the ceremony in Japan, and the prospective role of Jōkō 上公 (Senior Duke) identified as Mitsukuni.

MS04985(e) *Shidian guanyuan ji zhishi ren* 『稷奠官員及執事人役』 (“*Shidian* officers and verger functionaries”): this text is separated from the preceding by a blank line, suggesting that it was conceived as a separate document. The title forms the heading of a list of thirty-one liturgical roles in the ceremony, beginning from the highest ranked. The text consists of an original short list in black ink subsequently supplemented with additional material in red ink (see *The Worship of Confucius*, fig. 9.4). Of the thirty-one roles, fourteen are expanded in this way. The lineation is irregular, suggesting a close relationship with an emended autograph text.

The list differentiates between “officers” (*yuan* 員; *guan* 官), responsible for major sacrificial or supervisory liturgical roles, and “men” (*ren* 人), those responsible for handling the paraphernalia and other lower level hands-on ritual tasks. The format seems likely to emulate a subsection entitled *jisibang wenshi* 祭祀榜文式 (Form of words for the placard [advertising the names and roles of participant in] the sacrifice) included in the *Pangong*.⁸

On grounds of content this list is attributable to Shunshui. It reflects a still simplified version of the ceremony without the *Pangong*’s sacrifices to Confucius’ disciples or secondary venerands. The fact that it is bound in this *Watoji-bon* as a stand-alone text, rather than as a preface to a full set of directives, is consistent with its status as an early and discrete product of the rehearsal project, rather than as a purposely written introduction to a formal and complete set of directives. The framework of the ceremony implicit in the list remains that of the simplified version of the first campaign, with no mention of secondary venerands or cloisters. At the same time, the interpolated material conveys a concern with the moral caliber and abilities of participants in the rite; the use of the locution *quanyong* 權用 (temporarily use) indicating a lower than originally specified number of performers for the liturgical roles further suggests a problem with staffing the rehearsals. These interpolations therefore suggest a stage in the project at which some progress has been made. Tentatively, these features of the list can be dated to a transitional stage between the late first and second campaigns; rehearsals are under way and experienced gained, but the ceremony is still using the shorter version of the liturgy, later (in 1673) to be replaced by the full version.

8. Ibid., 18b-20a.

MS04985(f) *Gaiding yizhu* 『改定儀注』 (Revised ceremony notes): Zhu Shunshui's recension of the *shidian* directives. The black ink title appears deliberately faint: either an attempt has been made to erase it, or these four Chinese characters have been (?rather tentatively) inserted into a blank space so as to suggest continuity with the preceding prefatory material (with which it was subsequently conflated; see below "II. The text of the *Kaitei sekiten gichū*"). The text bears corrections and deletions as well as *kutōten*, suggesting that it was in practical use during the rehearsals. One whole sentence with a supplementary note of explanation has been deleted: 宗人升自西階視壺濯及豆籩反降自東北面告濯具追加之文 (Kindred [of the ruler] ascend from the western steps, view the jars washed and the *dou* and *bian*, and returning from the east [steps] report on the cleansing of the equipment. A supplementary sentence). The involvement of *zongren* 宗人 (J. *shūjin*, kindred) resonates with the mention of historical 宗伯 "kindred" in 04986(b) and 04985(d) and may refer to kindred of the daimyo or other senior feudal figures assigned assistant liturgical roles.

As fully discussed in the subsection of *The Worship of Confucius* chapter 9 entitled "Shunshui's revised liturgy," this recension varies from the original *Pangong* text itself, chiefly in respect of (i) the introductory sequence of "three gentlemen" inspecting the paraphernalia for the ceremony; (ii) the condition of the victims and the cleanliness of the instruments of slaughter (iii) its foregrounding of dignity and respect among participants (iv) and its mention of Mitsukuni as participant.⁹

MS04985(g) *Kaitei sekiten gichū* 『改定稊奠儀注』 (Revised ceremony notes on the *sekiten*) This is a *genkai* of the preceding Chinese text of directives. If the colophon date to the *Watoji-bon* 04985 is accepted as a *terminus ante quem*, this was almost certainly composed by the winter of 1673. Its salient feature is the reduction of the ceremony from *tairō* 太牢 (great beast; *suovetaurilia*) to *shōrō* 少牢 (lesser beast) status. It also excludes the introductory material and list of participants contained in the Chinese version. It varies in some further details from the original version, such as the omission of the role of the "Senior Duke." It is keyed to the second finer and more elaborate series of diagrams held in the Shōkōkan, now colored and reflecting the elaborate mock-up of the precinct for the 1673 second campaign of rehearsals. In this series, the "wings" (*bu* 廡) of the shrine building are

9. For a collation of the *Pangong* and Shunshui's *Kaitei sekiten gichū* texts, see Lin, *Zhu Shunshui zai Riben*, 202-08.

represented. Altars there receive the collective offerings to the tablets of the remaining “seventy-two disciples,” or “secondary venerands.” This final vernacular version also confirms the shorter time frame for the ceremony; it unequivocally identifies the preparatory procedures of the “three gentlemen” as beginning “towards dawn on the day of the sacrifice.”

MS04985(h)-(j) The volume concludes with three short *genkai* of documents relating to Confucian ritual, of which only the last directly concerns the *sekiten* liturgy: (h) directives for 祠堂時祭諺解 (*Shidō jisai genkai*; Vernacular exposition of the seasonal ceremonies in the worship hall); (i) *Bosai genkai* 墓祭諺解 (Vernacular exposition of “Grave sacrifice”); (j) *Seihai sunpō* 聖牌寸法 (Measurements for Sage’s tablets).

2. MS 04986

Watoji-bon 和綴じ本一冊: two cover panel titles glued on front cover: (i) “*Shu Shunsui shiju*” 『朱舜水指授』 (Instructions of Shu Shunsui) [subtitle]; (ii) “*Sekiten gichū zen*” 『釈奠儀註・全』 (Notes on the *sekiten* complete) [main title]. Eighteen double-sided sheets.

Contents

This volume contains four texts, originally discrete, spread over eighteen double-sided sheets. The first three bear titles corresponding with MSS 04985 (a), (d), and (e). Their content also corresponds, and they bear sporadic red ink *kutōten*. They are, however, cleaner, and show little sign of use in practice. They may be regarded as fair copies, either from the MS 04895 version or from another common source. The important final document recording questions put to Zhu Shunshui, is, however, different; it apparently only survives in the context of this *Watoji-bon*.

MS 04986(a) *Yizhu* 『儀注』 (Ceremony notes): this transcribes a subsection of Li Zhizao 李之藻 *Pangong Liyue shu* 『頤宮禮樂疏』 containing the directives for the Ming dynasty State Academy Directorate “great beast” ritual.¹⁰ It appears to be a partial fair copy of MS 04986(a) above; alternatively, it may be copied directly from a Chinese edition of the text.

MS 04986(b) Untitled text: beginning “*Zhiyu bu zhi* ...” 「之瑜不知...」 (“Zhiyu

10. Li, *Pangong*, *juan* 3/10b-18a.

[personal name of Shunshui] does not know. . .”]): apparently a fair copy of relating to 04985 (d) above.

MS 04986(c) *Shidian guanyuan ji zhishi renyi* 『積奠官員及執事人役』 (“*Shidian* officers and verger functionaries”): apparently a fair copy relating to 04985 (e).

MS 04986(d) Untitled text: beginning “*Qianshou minghui* . . .” 「前受明誨. . .」 (“Previously we received your illustrious instruction. . .”): a total of 26 questions in Chinese put to Zhu Shunshui by “the students of the History Office” concerning the directives for the *shidian* in the *Pangong Liyue su* and other aspects of the liturgy and dated to the “last ten days of the mid-winter month,” presumably of 1672. One answer is interpolated in red ink. This invaluable document, extant apparently only here, vividly records the students’ early learning experience as they took up rehearsing the *shidian* rite under their respected Chinese mentor.¹¹

II *Sekiten* liturgical diagrams

The Shōkōkan holds a set of eleven *sekiten zu* (diagrams or, more precisely since they prescribe movements, “charts”) of the ceremony to venerate Confucius). These documents belong to a well-established class of diagrams illustrating the movements of participants in the *sekiten* rite going back at least to the *Sekiten shidai* of Fujwara Teika. The present charts can be divided into two subsets on the basis of design, colors of ink, and level of detail.

Diagrams Series 1: black and white, with some use of red; cloisters are not included.

04998 祭前一日省牲圖 (Chart of inspection of the victims one day before the sacrifice). See also *The Worship of Confucius*, fig 9.4.

04997 諸執事序立拝位圖 (Chart of the vergers’ positions standing in order and bowing)

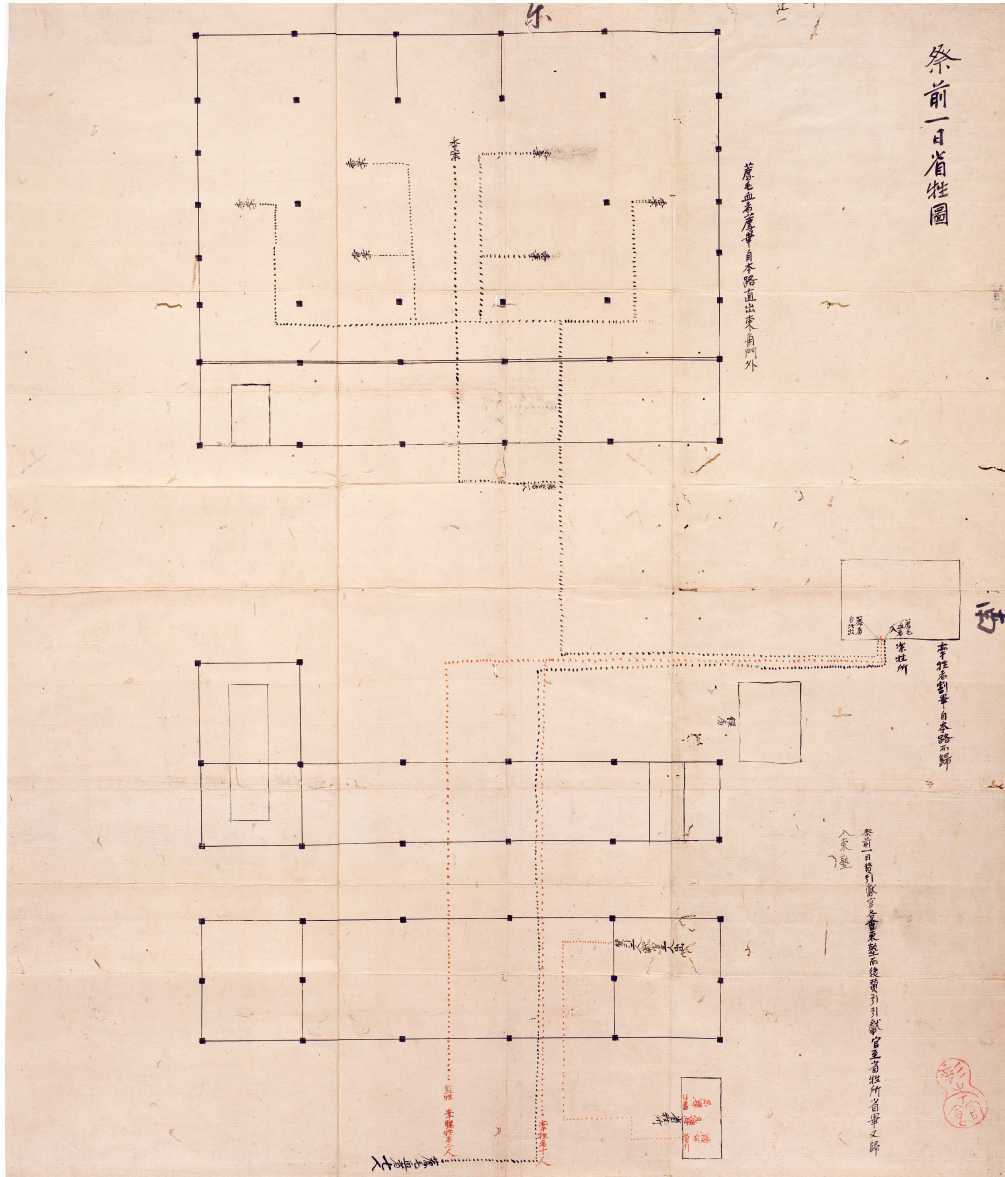
04992 分獻行路圖、獻官拝位及堂上堂下行路圖 (Chart of the secondary sacrificers’ routes and the sacrificers’ position for bowing and routes in the sanctuary and below)

04991 分獻行路圖 (Chart of the routes of the subsidiary sacrificers)

11. See *WOC*, 205-07.

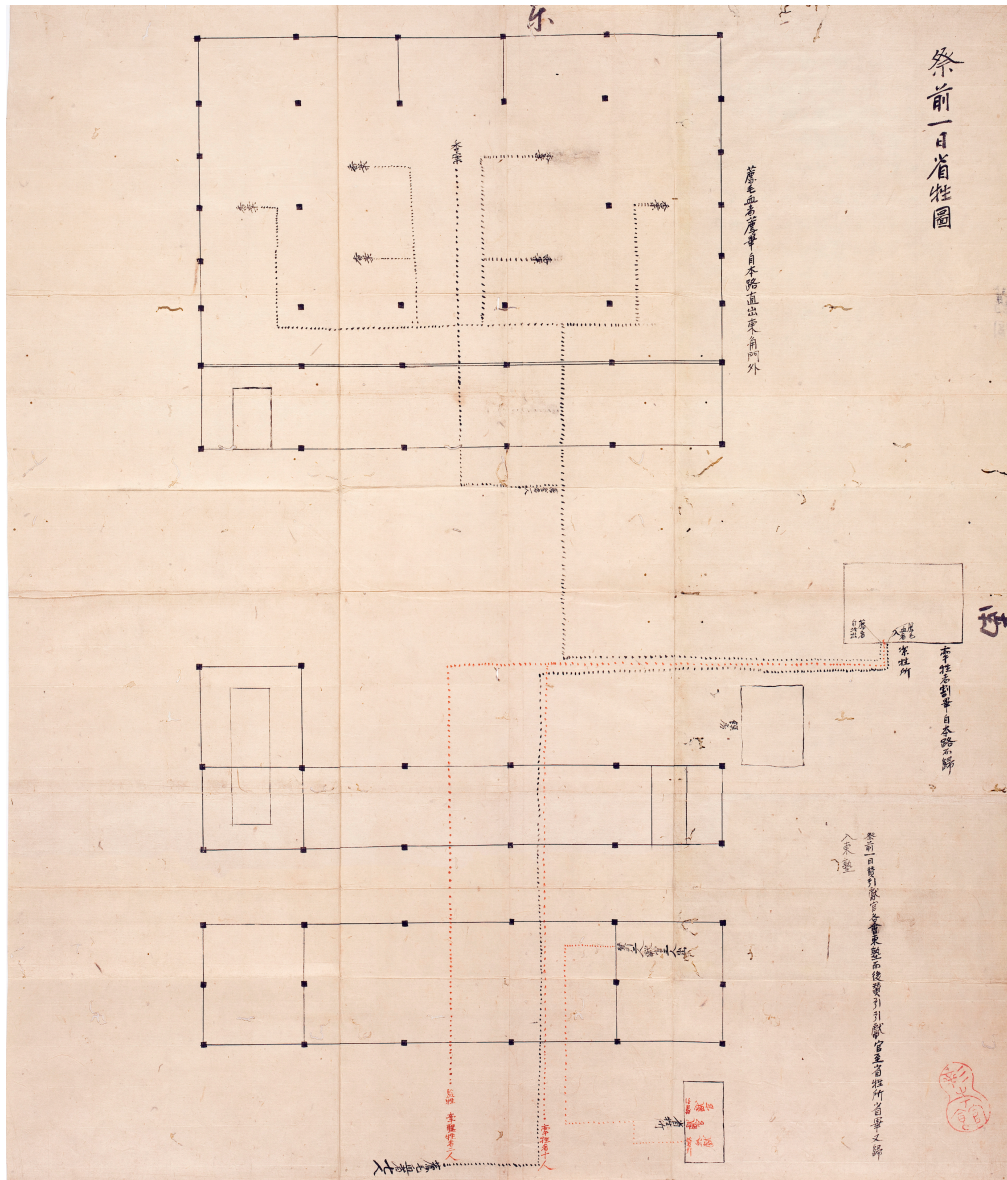
04994 飲福受胙圖 (Chart of the drinking of the wine of good fortune and receiving flesh oblations)

04988 望瘞行路圖 (Chart of routes for going to the pit)



5.1 “Diagram of inspection of the victims one day before the sacrifice”

For guidance during Shunshui’s early rehearsals of 1672, this manuscript plots the movements of performers rehearsing the preliminary inspection of animal victims, their subsequent slaughter and offering of “fur and blood.” The small rectangle in the bottom right hand corner outside the main shrine precinct indicates the pen in which the sacrificial victims are held alive for inspection. Courtesy of Tokugawa Museum, Mito and DNP Art Communications.



5.2 “Diagram of routes going to the pit; the round salutation added”

Prepared for the advanced rehearsals in 1673, showing the way to the pit in which the invocation and banners are to be burned. This is followed by the final “round salutation” in which senior participants salute one another after completion of the ritual. Courtesy of Tokugawa Museum, Mito and DNP Art Communications.

Liturgical charts Series 2: the titles of the diagrams closely overlap with those of Series 1, but the axis of the mock-up shrine is shifted to a south-facing shrine, the drawing of the plan is finer and more detailed, cloisters are included, and color is used.

04996 執事序立拝位図

04993 献官拝位及堂上堂下行路図

04990 分献行路図

04995 飲福受胙図

04989 望瘞行路図 圓揖附 (Chart of routes for going to the burial pit; the round salutation added). See also *The Worship of Confucius*, fig. 9.5.

This Series 2 is a replication in a finer and more detailed style than Series 1. It is complete except for the apparent omission of an initial diagram concerned with the preparatory inspection of the sacrificial victims. This first phase of Zhu Shunshui's revised ceremony varies most from the *Pangong*. Its featuring of slaughter and butchery may have occasioned most difficulty for the Japanese rehearsals, and drawing up a diagram might have been problematic. On the other hand, its omission from the otherwise complete series may simply be due to loss. Either way, the two series of liturgical charts can be seen roughly to correspond to the two campaigns of rehearsal of the rite, in 1672 and 1673 respectively. They provide valuable confirmation of the written directives.

Summary

The foregoing describes salient features of the *sekiten*-related documents in the Shōkōkan library. More work remains to be done, for instance on emendations to the texts. Ideally, they should be published in photographic form with an associated critical apparatus. Several features of this group of documents encourage the belief that, though they are not holographs,

the versions in MS 09865 in particular are closely related to originals and may be seen as having been put to practical use in the rehearsal process. These documents are best viewed as working texts or scripts for the two-year rehearsal project. They surely originated as discrete items to address different objectives, generated to communicate between Zhu Shunshui, an elderly Chinese expatriate who did not know Japanese and his Japanese students of the rite, who, on their part, were unfamiliar with aspects of Chinese ritual culture. In general, the rehearsal process was one of progressive elaboration. Each document reflects a different stage of the two-year cycle of rehearsals and there are thus inconsistencies between them that reflect the evolving character of the rehearsal process. These discrepancies between the first and second campaigns, however, remain unreconciled in Shunshui's emended list of participants. None the less, these documents provide the key to understanding the successive stages through which the rehearsals evolved and to establishing a narrative of the rehearsal project.

III The textual history of the *rufubon* 流布本 (*textus receptus*) of the *Kaitei sekiten gichū*

The foregoing discussion sheds light on the successive stages and versions of the *shidian* that Zhu Shunshui rehearsed in Mito. At some stage, however, the original texts passed into the hands of his leading disciple Asaka Tanpaku, and of his patron, Tokugawa Mitsukuni himself and his son. Each of these men each saw it as his responsibility to edit them for a Japanese readership and applied *kunten*, *kaeriten*, and *okurigana*. They thus effectively translated the texts into Japanese, and the titles of their versions may be transliterated in Japanese. Analysis will show that they also modified the original texts in various ways.

Leaving aside the original Chinese *Pangong Liyue shu* version, the student of Zhu Shunshui's *shidian/sekiten* is thus confronted with four main textual versions, under the titles *Gaiding yizhu* or *Kaitei sekiten gichū*. Of these, the first two are found as Chinese texts in the Shōkōkan archive and have been introduced above. The last two represent later developments of the texts beyond the original versions. In the chronological order in which the MSS can be dated, this series of four versions are in greater detail:

1. *Gaiding yizhu* 改定儀注 (Revised ceremony notes): MS 04985 (f); dateable to 1673. This bears *kutōten* (punctuation marks) attributable to Zhu Shunshui himself and appears pristine and without Japanese diacritics. It is thus appropriately cited by its Chinese title. Deletions on the MS suggest that it was used in rehearsal or performance. External evidence attributes it securely to Zhu Shunshui. It is the origin of the three further versions of the work discussed below. It appears to have been written originally as a free-standing set of directives without introduction or prefatory material. The liturgy reflects the second campaign of rehearsals, a *tairō* (great beast, *suovetaurilia*) version based principally on the Ming “National Academy” (Guoxue 国学) version of Li Zhizao’s *Pangong Liyue shu*.

2. *Kaitei sekiten gichū* 改定積奠儀注 (Ceremony notes on the *sekiten*). MS 04985 (g). This is a *genkai* of the preceding Chinese text of directives and similarly has no prefatory material. The application of this title to a Japanese rendering of Shunshui’s directives supports the argument that *Gaiding yizhu* originated as a discrete set of directives. If the colophon date of the *Watoji-bon* 04985 is to be accepted, this version belongs securely to the 1673 campaign. Its most striking distinguishing feature is that it lowers the status of the *sekiten* from *tairō* (ox, sheep, and pig) to *shōrō* (sheep and pig). Like the other *genkai*, it must represent an effort to familiarize Japanese students with Shunshui’s version of the ceremony. It is unlikely that Zhu Shunshui himself was closely involved in its production since he did not know Japanese, and it has no reliable claim to be a good witness to what Shunshui himself would have viewed as appropriate or ideal for a Mito *sekiten*. It may be useful, however, as a commentary from within the Mito community of those involved with the rehearsals on the practicability of Shunshui’s revised directives. Or it may simply be intended to make available a modest version for performance when Mitsukuni was absent from the domain.

3. *Kaitei sekiten gichū*, edited and supplied with diacritics by Shunshui’s disciple Asaka Tanpaku and included in his woodblock publication *Shunsui Shu shi danki* 舜水朱氏談綺 3 vols. Kyoto: Ryūshiken, 1707; vol. 2, 90a-98b. Like 1 and 2 above, it bears no prefatory material or list of participants. Tanpaku intervened heavily to edit the text; he applied *kunten* and *kaeriten* and *okurigana*, effectively translating it into Japanese. He dropped the reference in Shunshui’s recension to the “Senior Duke’s” participation. So Shunshui’s “great beast” ceremony is purged of personal reference to Tokugawa Mitsukuni, the historical figure for whom it was originally designed. The chief value of this edited

version in the context of the history of Zhu Shunshui's *sekiten* project is that Tanpaku presents Shunshui's specially commissioned set of directives as a free-standing ritual, detached from its association with Mito. In theory, it would be available to any community ambitious to perform a high-level rite to venerate Confucius.

4. *Kaitei sekiten gichū*: the *rufubon* (*textus receptus*), also referred to as the “Mito bon.” It was first printed as *kan* 26 in the 1715 edition of Shunshui's collected works, the *Shunsui sensei bunshū* 舜水先生文集, compilation of which is attributed to Mitsukuni. It is placed as the last but two chapters in a 28-*kan* collection of Shunshui's work, a project surely conceived by Mitsukuni and his son, self-designated “disciples” (*monjin* 門人), as a tribute to their revered teacher. This work was printed after its initial compiler's death, edited by his heir the third Mito daimyo Tokugawa Tsunaeda 徳川綱枝 (1656–1718). Like Asaka Tanpaku's version above, it bears full (but different) diacritics and seems to have been intended to be read in *kundoku* style, justifying citation of its title in Japanese. It was given the name “Mito-bon” by the early twentieth-century Shunshui scholar Inaba Iwayoshi 稲葉岩吉 and is printed in his *Shu Shunsui zenshū*. It is the version of Zhu's *sekiten* text most frequently reprinted in modern editions of his work, for example in Takasu Yoshijirō's *Mitogaku taikei*, and in the Beijing edition; *Zhu Shunshui ji*, edited by Zhu Qianzhi.¹²

This version of Shunshui's recension differs strikingly from the earlier versions described above. It is a collation of several originally separate texts. It combines hitherto discrete elements of the texts generated during the rehearsals. It assembles, in the order of their origin as reconstructed above: 04985 (d) 之瑜不知; 04985(e) 釈奠官員及執事; and (f) 04985 『改定儀注』. Each component reflects a discrete snap-shot of Shunshui's different perspectives on the ceremony, taken at different moments during the two-year process of rehearsal, but now assembled to form a coherent whole. These represent the four main stages of the rehearsals: (i) the preliminary consideration of how the rite might be adapted to Japan (04985 [d]); (ii) the early stage of recruitment of personnel for the first stage of rehearsal

12. The 1715 edition of this text is associated with the following notices collected in the Beijing edition of Zhu Shunshui's work (Zhu Jianzhi ed., *Zhu Shunshui ji*): (i) preface by 徳川綱枝 Mitsukuni's son Tokugawa Tsunaeda 綱枝 (Gen Kōjō 源綱條), dated 1712, Furoku, 783; (ii) preface by Andō Seian dated 1697, *ibid.*, 783-85; postface by Asaka Tanpaku, dated 1712/vii, *ibid.*, 785-88); *Hanrei* 凡例 are found in *ibid.* 788-89, where *Sekiten gichū* is mentioned as first among works appended only at the end of Shunshui's oeuvre.

(04985 [e]); (iii) somewhat later, when Shunshui had thought further concerning the moral aspects of the ceremony, he added comments to his original roster of participants; (iv) at the advanced stage of rehearsing the version that Zhu Shunshui considered desirable for Mito, including participation by Mitsukuni or his heir (04985 [f]).

This analysis strongly suggest that it would be wrong to think of the *rufubon* as a work composed at a single time. Where Asaka Tanpaku's editing had removed the work from its historical Mito and Tokugawa context and rendered it impersonal and ahistorical, father and son repossessed the rite for Mito and preserved the evidence of its evolutionary history. They reinstated Tokugawa Mitsukuni as a player in a theatrical ritual whose rehearsal he had facilitated but whose performance he had ultimately rejected.

Summary

The heterogeneous origin of the components of the *rufubon* means that it is inappropriate to look for overall consistency in this document. Rather, the *rufubon* preserves evidence of the progress from rehearsal of a simplified version in the first campaign to full version in the second. Inconsistencies are most evident between the roster of personnel, drawn up early in the project and reflecting an abbreviated version of the rite, and Zhu Shunshui's later full revised directives, expanded in respect of the opening sequence of inspection of the animals and the instruments of slaughter and in respect of including sacrifice to an expanded Confucian pantheon in the cloisters of the shrine. The most salient inconsistency is mention of the "cloisters" (none in 04985(b)) or *Sekiten zu* first series; but an important element of the 1673 rite from 04985(e)-(f) and second *Sekiten zu* series. Another, more technical inconsistency concerns the number of tray bearers who take the offerings of the "fur and blood" to the altars. These are seven in the case of the initial list [04985(b)] but are increased

to twelve in the case of Shunshui's MS 04985(f) *Gaiding yizhu*.¹³

Yet, together with disjunction and inconsistency, there are also subtle suggestions that suggest an attempt to establish a linkage or continuity between the originally discrete components of the *rufubon*, particularly between the expanded version of the list of participants and the revised directives. Among these is the possibly half-deleted title of Shunshui's *Kaitei gichū*, perhaps an attempt to suggest continuity with the preceding list. Another is the specification of moral qualities in the "the gentlemen" who in the revised directives now perform the preparatory phase of the liturgy; "respectful, cautious and thorough" men be are to be chosen.¹⁴ This suggests a carrying over of the moralistic emphasis of the red-ink additional material in the list into the revised directives. Once more, attention is drawn to the quality of the Shōkōkan *sekiten* documentation and to the *rufubon* itself as reflecting the fluid, dynamic, but also intricate and sometimes inconsistent, evolving process of rehearsing this Chinese ritual in Japan.

13. This inconsistency is reflected also in a parallel discrepancy between other documents which reflect the two stages of the project. The texts that document the first stage, the first series of *Sekiten zu* (MS04998) and the first *genkai* (MS04985(b)) both specify seven bearers to take the "fur and blood" to the altars. For the second stage, the vernacular version *Kaitei sekiten gichū* (04985(f)), like the Zhu Shunshui recension, specifies twelve tray bearers (rather incongruously in view of the fact that this is a *shōrō* rather than *tairō* ceremony).

The increase in number of tray bearers between the two stages is partly explained by the addition of two trays collectively for the seventy-two disciples and secondary venerands in the wings, and by an unexplained increase from one to four trays at the main altar, possibly to be explained by separate trays on which to offer the fur and blood of the animals. This fur and blood will be taken from the altars for burial before the spirits are welcomed to the ceremony.

14. *Sekiten shūrei gi*; Zhu Shunshui *ji*, 605. The continuity between the emended list and the *Revised directives* suggests that in their final state these two texts form a sequence and, though separate in origin and mutually inconsistent, were revised, possibly by Shunshui himself, with the intention that they be read together. This assumption revises the argument that they were subsequently juxtaposed possibly by Mitsukuni, as put forward in my exploratory article "Rehearsing the rite," 217-18.

Abbreviations

- WOC* McMullen, James. *The Worship of Confucius in Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020.
- SKQS* *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書. Wen yuan ge 文淵. 5000 vols. Taiwan: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986

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Tokugawa Maki: see Dechuan Zhenmu

Zhu Shunshui, *Kaitei sekiten gichū* 改定稊奠儀注. Edited by Asaka Tanpaku. In Asaka Tanpaku comp. and ed. *Shunsui Shu shi danki* 舜水朱氏談綺, vol. 2.

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APPENDIX 6

Early Warrior ceremonies

This appendix pursues the claim made in the Introduction to *The Worship of Confucius* that, under the Tokugawa feudal regime of dispersed power, there was a two-way dialectic between center and domains.¹ The metropolitan seat of the Bakufu in Edo was, in Conrad Totman's words, "a perfect point for the transmission of ideas."² In the complex force-field that was late feudal Japan, influences and pressures, both positive and negative or cautionary, could pass in both directions. This appendix explores the well-documented experiences of six domains as they wrestled with their responses to the challenge posed by the cult of Confucius. Detailed descriptions, it is hoped, will convey something of the texture of their success or, as in most cases, failure, to establish the ceremony on a regular basis. The conclusion identifies a subtle dialectic of mutual influences between center and provinces against the background of changing power relations between the Bakufu and semi-independent provincial domains.

Nagoya

The important role of Tokugawa Yoshinao 徳川義直 (1600–50) in supporting the early development in Edo of the Rinke Shinobugaoka shrine has already been described (*Worship of Confucius*, chapter 8). Yoshinao was the ninth son of Ieyasu and founder of the Owari lineage of the Tokugawa kindred, one of the Gosanke 御三家, collaterals of the ruling shogunal line, privileged to supply its heirs should the need arise and to participate in its

1. See *WOC*, 22.

2. Totman, *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu*, 85-86.

counsels. He was attracted by much in Confucianism and played an important role in the adoption of the ceremony in warrior society and ultimately in its patronage by the shogunate. Yet the particular quality of his own *sekiten* ceremony illustrates both its cultural and institutional incongruity and the political risks of promoting it in the newly established military regime, together with the difficulty of making it more than an occasion for cultural affectation and dressing up.

From an early age, Yoshinao was a bibliophile with an enthusiasm for ritual texts.³ This interest was materially demonstrated by his construction of a shrine to Confucius at his castle in Nagoya, the first purpose-built Confucian shrine of the Tokugawa period.⁴ The shrine was described by Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657), the Bakufu’s Confucian advisor, who had an audience with Yoshinao in 1629/xii/6 in Nagoya. Razan left an account of the shrine, which he referred to as a “Kōshi dō” 孔子堂. He described:

a small shrine, shaped like a hall; at the back were golden images of Yao 堯, Shun 舜, Yu 禹, the duke of Chou 周公 and Confucius. A table stood in front, with *bian* 簋 and *dou* 豆 [and other paraphernalia] ... a further table stood in front with incense burners...; the walls were painted... The hall stood on stone foundations about four or five feet high. A flower garden surrounded the building and a library was nearby.

That evening, after a feast of delicacies with Yoshinao, “there was music: ‘Goshō’ 五麋 (the five roe deer; *sc.* ‘Goshō’ 五常?), ‘Taihei’ 太平, ‘Engi’ 延喜.⁵ ‘Seigaiha’ 青海波, ‘Etenraku’

3. Yoshinao bought a copy of the *Liji* in Kyoto in 1615 and possessed the *Engishiki* and the *Gōke shidai* from the early Kan’ei period (1622–44). He himself was responsible for the compilation of genealogies, chronological records of his father, Ieyasu, and, most ambitiously, a history of Japan classified by topic, *Ruiju Nihongi* 類聚日本紀, in 174 *kan* and 70 *satsu* (1637–46). This work was known to, and borrowed by, Yoshinao’s nephew, Tokugawa Mitsukuni. For this aspect of Yoshinao’s life, see Atobe, “Tokugawa Yoshinao kashindan,” especially 361–76.

4. This building and the surrounding complex are illustrated in a picture of the north garden of the second enceinte of Nagoya castle, dated to “not long after 1620,” when Yoshinao occupied the second enceinte. See *ibid.*, 389–90, and note 12. The site also contained a library, evidently octagonal, a shape used for depositories of the Buddhist sutra *Issaikyō* 一切經.

5. The images that Razan saw together with the feretory (*zushi* 厨子) are extant; they were probably a composite set from an original series conjectured to have been seven, that included, in addition to the five listed by Razan, images also of Fu Xi and Shen Nong. Of these, the image of Yao is solid gold, and is thought to have been presented to Yoshinao by Ōkubo Nagayasu 大久保長安 (1545–

越天樂, ‘Shinmaka’ 新靺鞨 [music from a N.E. Asian tribe]. The vice-minister himself [Yoshinao] played the *sō* 箏.”⁶

It is unclear when rituals to venerate Confucius were first performed here. However, the second necessary condition for a *sekiten*, liturgical expertise, was most likely available. Yoshinao had access to Confucian liturgical experience through Suminokura Soan 角倉素庵 (1571–1632), a disciple of Fujiwara Seika who had participated with his teacher in learning the *sekiten* liturgy from the Korean literatus and prisoner-of-war Jiang Hang 姜沆 (1567–1618).⁷ But the man described as the “brain behind Yoshinao’s Confucianism and learning” was Hori Kyōan 堀杏庵 (1585–1642) who had joined his service in 1622.⁸ Kyōan, with Hayashi Razan, was a fellow disciple of Fujiwara Seika. He does not, however, seem to have participated in Seika’s inaugural *sekiten*. Though he lectured in Nagoya on the *Four Books*, he was chiefly known as a *jui* 儒医 (Confucian doctor).⁹ It is likely through him that Razan’s meeting with Yoshinao came about.¹⁰

Given the paraphernalia set out on the table in front of the feretory observed in 1629 by Razan, together with the presence of Hori Kyōan in the domain and occasionally of Suminokura Soan, it seems not improbable that some form of service had already been conducted by this time. The first dated directives and invocations, however, are preserved for a spring ceremony on 1633/ii/18, very shortly after the first Rinke observance in Edo.¹¹ A

1613); the others, gilded bronze, were probably made on the orders of Yoshinao. See Yamamoto, “Owari Tokugawa-ke shodai Yoshinao,” 147.

6. Hayashi Razan *bunshū*, 765.

7. Hayashi Razan, *Fujiwara Seika Gyōjō* in *ibid.*, 462–68. See also: Atobe, “Tokugawa Yoshinao kashindan,” 392, note 34. She surmises that liturgical information for this revival was provided at the request of Seika from the Korean prisoner of war, taken in Hideyoshi’s second invasion (1597–98).

8. Yamamoto, “Owari Tokugawa-ke shodai Yoshinao,” 55.

9. See the chronological biography (*nenpu*) in Atobe, “Tokugawa Yoshinao kashindan,” 382–88.

10. Yamamoto, “Owari Tokugawa-ke shodai Yoshinao,” 55.

11. See *Bifu seidōki*, 224–35. Extant directives in this work consist of:

- i. a summary *kanbun* set of directives covering the whole rite apparently as observed in the second month of 1633 (224–26), followed by;
- ii. separate detailed sets of directives (*shidai* 次第), apparently for a different and more elaborate performance occasion specifying the roles of officers in the ceremony: the marshal (*etsusha* 謁者, two invocationers, the three sacrificers/libationers, and musicians;
- iii. a list of music pieces to be played during the ceremony (229–30);

second, possibly expanded, ceremony followed that autumn on 1633/viii/7.¹² There are signs that great care was lavished on these ceremonies; this was one of the grandest ceremony of the early Tokugawa period, far grander than the immediately preceding Rinke ceremony in Edo and unrivalled until the 1670 Rinke performance in Edo. Yoshinao's ceremony was an ambitious revival of the *Engishiki sekiten*. A total of thirty-seven liturgical roles is specified, excluding musicians.

Revivalists of the *Engishiki* ceremony such as Yoshinao faced a nuanced choice between the two versions included in that text, metropolitan and provincial. The metropolitan version would be culturally richer and more dignified; it was followed by a sequel that included cultural display: an exposition, feasting, and versifying, but it suggested identification with the ancient imperial court and centralized imperial power, and might be taken to question the role of the Bakufu. The provincial ceremony, though simpler, implied a delegation of power more appropriate to a feudal daimyo. Both versions, however, prescribed unspecified music, a special attraction for Yoshinao. The liturgical framework that he adopted is partly that of the provincial version; Confucius and Yan Hui each receive a banner, food offerings, libations, and an invocation. With regard to paraphernalia, the number of *dou* and *bian* offered to Confucius and Yan Hui also correspond to the *Engishiki's* provincial scale (eight of each at each altar).¹³

The important wording of Yoshinao's invocations also follows that of the provincial ceremony in so far as they do not cite the emperor or indeed the shogun, but identify the ceremony as performed autonomously by "junior second rank, provisional major councilor

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- iv. the arrangements for an "exposition" (*kōza* 講座), the names of the performers together with their attire, including Hori Kyōan together with one Takeno Ansai 竹野安斎 (for biographical note see Atobe, "Tokugawa Yoshinao kashindan," 378) and an unspecified number of musicians;
 - v. the text of the two invocations dated for 1633/ii/18 (231);
 - vi. diagrams of the positioning of performers, and the arrangement of paraphernalia and offerings at the altars (232-35). How this material coheres is unclear. It is possible that (i) is an account of an abbreviated first ceremony, later expanded. The description of the ceremony given here is based on the expanded version, possibly that held on 1633/viii/7.

12. See the invocations used on this occasion, preserved in Yoshinao's own hand, in Yamamoto, "Owari Tokugawa-ke shodai Yoshinao," 151-52, illustration 9. A late nineteenth-century source suggests that twice annual ceremonies were conducted in the castle shrine (NKSS 4: 58, quoting Okada Kei 岡田啓, *Owarida no mashimizu* 小治田之眞清水 [preface 1853]).

13. Ibid., 233. *Engishiki*, 998.

Minamoto, Court minister, Yoshinao.”¹⁴ However, there is an inconsistency: where the texts of the metropolitan and provincial invocation to Yan Hui differ slightly in *Engishiki*, Yoshinao’s follows the fuller metropolitan rather than the provincial wording.”¹⁵ The offerings prescribed in the directives include: for Confucius and Yan Hui, salted deer; raw pig and raw goat meat (*seiton* 腥豕, *seiyō* 腥羊), as well as dried strips of deer meat (*rokuho* 鹿脯) and fish and vegetables; and dried strips of deer and (anomalously) pork for the subsidiary venerands.¹⁶

There can be little doubt that Yoshinao was attracted by the dignity, color, and the music and dance, of the ancient ceremony. He is said to have taken a broad view of these cultural skills, regarding them as means for self-cultivation and even trying to apply them to administration.¹⁷ He was a keen musician; he himself was noted for playing the drums. For his ceremony, he evidently employed an orchestra; he selected *gagaku* pieces, the most dignified music with a living performance tradition available in Japan at the time. The program for his *sekiten* clearly reflected this personal enthusiasm; it included pieces that he had played himself when he hosted Hayashi Razan three years previously.¹⁸

Yoshinao appears as “leader” (*shujin* 主人) to have taken the leading liturgical role of first libationer.¹⁹ Care was taken over dress. In contrast to the Rinke choice of Chinese *shenyi* 深衣, both ancient court dress and formal warrior dress were specified: the libationers wore *raifuku* 礼服 (the formal court dress for those of fifth rank and above); the invocationers wore *sokutai* 束帯 (formal court dress); the *hōrei* 奉礼 (verger), *sansha* 贊者 (assistant) and *essha* 謁者 (marshal) wore *raifuku* 礼服 (ancient formal court dress for those of fifth rank and

14. *Bifu seidōki*, 231.

15. See *ibid.*, and *Engishiki*, 520, 1004. However, in a further inconsistency, though, as in the *Engishiki* provincial version, the “ten savants” are omitted, a diagram of the altar arrangement for the ceremony suggests that at some stage “secondary oblations” were made or at least planned (*Ibid.*, 234).

16. *Bifu seidōki*, 233-34, lists details of the paraphernalia for main and secondary oblations (*jūkyō* 従享), but, as in the *Engishiki* these do not appear to be integrated with the directives for the ceremony.

17. Nagoya Shiyakusho, *Nagoya shishi*, *Seiji hen 1*, 108-09.

18. *Bifu seidōki*, 230-31; the participants are also named in this list.

19. This summary follows the expanded version in *Bifu seidōki*, 225-31.

above) with *sanzankan* 三山冠 (three-peaked hats);²⁰ the reader and six interlocutors wore *ikan* 衣冠 (robe and crown); less important liturgical roles involving bearing paraphernalia during the ceremony wore *ketsuteki* 闕腋 (warrior's overjacket with under-sleeves unsewn; a jacket worn over *sokutai* 束帶), but the bearer of the pennant used in conducting the music wore *kariginu* 狩衣 (hunting robes).²¹

What kind of Confucian religiosity inspired this considerable performance? Of the main categories of ritual applied in this book, it would seem mainly to assimilate to “cultural display” with perhaps a gesture to the “cosmic ordering” associated historically with *Engishiki*. Yoshinao's ceremony has an antiquarian, dilettante feel and suggests that he was at least partly motivated by his personal enthusiasm for music. This was not part of a project systematically to revive ancient institutions. His own Confucian writing, *Shogaku bunsō* 初学文宗 (Principles of an account of early learning, 1650), suggests that he understood Confucianism as an objective code of conduct rather than as a Neo-Confucian existential path to salvation.²² His mindset may have been similar to that of his nephew, Tokugawa Mitsukuni. Like Mitsukuni, he was a stickler for ritual order.²³ Yoshinao's Confucianism was, moreover, tempered by strong interest in Shinto.²⁴ His enthusiasm for Confucianism, none the less, was sincere; historians assert that he sought to apply its principles to his domain administration; the world “compared him to the duke of Zhou.”²⁵ Crucially for the long-term consequence of his *sekiten*, however, Yoshinao did not build an infrastructure that might correspond, even provincially, to the educational institutions of the ancient Japanese state, the source of his

20. A three-peaked hat worn at formal court ceremonies by officials from the three offices of *zushoryō* 図書寮 (Bureau of books), *tonomoryō* 主殿寮 (Palace upkeep), and *tengi hosa* 典儀補佐 (Court ushers).

21. *Bifu seidōki*, 230-31.

22. Text in *NS*, *Bunkyo hen*, 1: 5-17.

23. He was sensitive to questions of ritual order as shown by his insistence on correct precedence among the close kindred of the shogun on the occasion of Iemitsu's heir Ietsuna's first attendance at the Sannō 山王 festival in 1642; Nagoya Shiyaku sho, *Nagoya shishi*, *Seiji hen* 1, 110.

24. It should be noted that his leading Confucian scholar, Hori Kyōan, was called upon to service his daimyo's religious interest in Shinto as much as in Confucianism; and that he was appointed *Hōgan*, a Buddhist title, in 1626. His sons, similarly, took Buddhist titles (Atobe, “Tokugawa Yoshinao kashindan,” 377).

25. Nagoya Shiyakusho, *Nagoya shishi*, *Seiji hen* 1, 109. There is a hint of Legalism in the encomium of his rule: “The system and laws were straightforward, the land was wealthy, rewards and punishments were strict and clear” (*ibid.*).

sekiten. Though the domain did institute a school during his lifetime which had a plaque in Yoshinao's hand, it seems to have taken the form of a "private" house school in Ōtsu chō of the castle town for Fukada Enkū 深田円空 (d. 1662).²⁶

In the castle town, also, the tutor to the first and second daimyo, Namikawa Rosan 並河魯山 (1629–1710), is said to have a "Shrine to the previous Sage" (Senseibyō 先聖廟) in his house school. However, it was later reported that Rosan's "sons and grandsons were ungifted and resigned their office, and services were abandoned."²⁷ There appears to have been no obvious institutional link between the schools in the town and the shrine and ceremony in the castle.²⁸ It seems questionable whether Yoshinao, unlike his nephew Mitsukuni, perceived the relationship between a successful ceremony and its educational infrastructure. Modern claims that Yoshinao is the pioneer of state Confucianism in early modern Japan or that "the foundation of the flourishing of Edo period Zhu Xi learning [as the official school] lies with Yoshinao" have an element of truth, but require refinement.²⁹ Yoshinao's ceremony reflected personal enthusiasm and lacked the broader vision of Confucianism and its infrastructure needed for a ritual that could draw liturgical energy from the wider society. His *sekiten* addressed no structural "social drama."

A further reason suggests itself for why Yoshinao did not use his wealth and privilege to implement Confucian ideals more thoroughly and in particular to found a domain school. Yoshinao's caution has been related to perceptions of his political loyalties. He may have felt obliged ostentatiously to demonstrate subordination to his elder brother the second shogun Hidetada (r. 1605–23) and his son Iemitsu (r. 1623–51).³⁰ He may have wished to counter any possible association with the historical example of another able junior son of a founding warlord; the fratricide Tang Taizong (Li Shimin 李世民, r. 626–649), the able second son of the founding father of the Tang, Gaozu (Li Yuan 李淵 r. 618–626). Taizong famously murdered an elder and younger brother and then deposed his father, to become the second emperor of the Tang dynasty. In this light, it is striking that, though he had already established

26. Kasai, *Kinsei hankō*, 637; NKSS 4: 57.

27. *Bifu seidōki*, 235.

28. Nishimura, *Owari Keikō*, 86-87; Bodart-Bailey, *The Dog Shōgun*, 58.

29. Atobe, "Tokugawa Yoshinao kashindan," 382; Yamamoto, "Owari Tokugawa shodai Yoshinao," 157.

30. The question of Yoshinao's loyalty is discussed in Bodart-Bailey, *The Dog Shōgun*, 57-58.

a shrine, Yoshinao's own initial *sekiten* in Nagoya was deferentially delayed to follow that of Hayashi Razan in the military capital Edo, albeit by a few days.

For a while, Nagoya was the center of an elite-level interest in Confucianism, no doubt aided by the presence of the lively Chen Yuanyun (J. Chin Genpin) 陳元斌 (1587–1671), who taught Chinese pronunciation among other things.³¹ Enthusiasm for Confucianism in the Nagoya domain, however, and, with it, for the *sekiten*, does not appear to have been sustained, even in the medium term. The ceremony lapsed after Yoshinao's death. Not until nearly a century later was it revived in Nagoya. And then it was to be an illuminating antithesis of Yoshinao's. Where Yoshinao's *sekiten* had been an elite initiative with echoes of a state cult, the revived ceremony developed from modest origins. The contrast between the two ceremonies illustrates vividly the variety of rituals available to venerate Confucius in this period. In 1743, Kinoshita Rankō 木下蘭臯 (1681–1752), a Sinologue and disciple of Ogyū Sorai, revived the rite.³² A few years later in 1748 a new school (to be known as the Meirindō 明倫堂) was founded in response to the request of a domain *rōnin*, Fuse Ian 布施維安.³³

The directives for the inaugural *Shindō sekisai gi* 新堂稊菜儀 (Ceremonial for the *sekisai* at the new hall) performed on 1748/ix/10 in this new school survive.³⁴ Thereafter the ceremony was performed annually on the middle *ding* (J. *hinoto*) day of the second month. But, no longer supported by the aesthetic enthusiasms of a puissant, wealthy young daimyo, this was a modest ceremony informed by a quite different spirit. It deliberately followed, but also “revised” (*inkatsu* 櫟括), Zhu Xi's retreat liturgy.³⁵ It had a serious, devotional tone; students from other schools (implicitly other than the Kimon 崎門 school of Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇齋 [1618–82]) were not allowed.³⁶ Notices to onlookers warned: “There is to be no

31. He had been retained from 1638. Shu, “Cultural and Political Encounters,” 72.

32. Kinoshita Rankō 木下蘭臯, *Senseibyō jūshūki* 先聖廟重修記 (1743), 235; for the 1743 revival, see *ibid.*, 237–239.

33. Identified as a “gentleman out of office” (*shoshi* 処士) of the Province of Owari” in the prayer to the “God of the soil,” (Nakamura Bansei, *Shindō sekisai gi*, 316). Interestingly, there is a faint suggestion of tension among the domain authorities around this figure. According to Iida (“Edo jidai no Kōshibyō kenchiku,” 961), Fuse was a *rōnin* who “had reason to leave the domain thereafter.”

34. See Nakamura Bansei, *Shindō sekisai gi*. 293–316.

35. *Ibid.*, 303. It stipulated a single “leader” and centered on the “sacrifice” (pouring onto a tray with reeds and sand) of wine to Confucius, followed by an invocation to his spirit. The venerands were represented by written titles on paper.

36. *Ibid.*, 293.

joking or disturbance among the spectators” and instructed that the “students’ swords should be entrusted to the refectory staff.”³⁷ Fuse Ian’s inaugural invocations, addressed respectively to the spirits of the earth and to “the Former Sage and Perfect Sage the King of Culture Universal” were “autonomous”; the agency for the ceremony is not cited as the daimyo, but as Fuse under the titles “Owari shū shoshi” 尾張州処士 (unemployed gentleman of Owari Province) and “Kōgaku 後学 (latter day student).”³⁸ True, the role of the shogunal and daimyo regimes in sanctioning the school is acknowledged, but crucial also was the support of “men of shared aspiration” of whom “the rich had assisted with resources, the poor exhausted their strength.” The invocation was also sectarian, addressed not only to Confucius and the four Neo-Confucian correlates, but also the five Song Neo-Confucians and “in Japan, [the Kimon founder] Yamazaki Sensei [and his three leading disciples] Satō 佐藤 Sensei, Asami 浅見 Sensei, Miyake 三宅 Sensei as secondary venerands, and in the western cloister, the two rural teachers Mssrs Koide 小出 and Yanase 築瀬 and my friend Mr Amaki 天木.”³⁹ The prayer concluded:

I prostrate myself and request that you shine brightly on us and truly bless us; that for the future you grant us indefinitely and tirelessly that our studies day by day shine in illumination, and that gentlemen month by month are established in virtuous action; that [the resulting] moral transformation extends in the four directions and that good order also reaches beyond all boundaries.⁴⁰

In a form unusually pure for an official domain school observance, this was conspicuously and intensely a ceremony of “ethical action” and moral empowerment. There was no music prescribed, no “cultural display”; the ceremony was intramural and did not involve the feudal hierarchy outside the school itself. This *sekisai* inverts the dominant pattern whereby a house school was co-opted by the feudal domain authorities or an originally “ethical action” ceremony became co-opted to become an official “cosmic ordering” or “cultural display” rite. In the course of a century, Confucius, now god of the academy, had changed from indulging the lofty fantasies of a scion of the ruling lineage to empowering humbler academic officials.

37. Ibid., 299. For a diagram of the site, see *ibid.*, 300. A kitchen (*hōchū* 庖厨) is indicated to the left of the main entrance. The Gakumonjo was to be named “Meirindō” the following year.

38. Nakamura Bansei, *Shindō sekisai gi*, 312-13.

39. For the liturgy of the Meirindō ceremony, see *ibid.*, 293-316.

40. Ibid., 315.

Okayama

Tokugawa Yoshinao's ceremony heads the provincial ceremonies of the early and mid-Tokugawa period. It symbolizes the scope of fresh daimyo power exercised by a cadet member of the ruling lineage, but also suggests its limitations. Yoshinao's ceremony has an air of theatricality, of a historical costume spectacle, seemingly remote from the contemporary world; it too closely reflected a personal enthusiasm to survive the passing of its sponsor.

Yoshinao was succeeded by a small group of daimyo who, like him or perhaps with greater seriousness, were interested in Confucianism but were less favored by circumstances. The members of this group, known as the "four illustrious lords," were all related by blood or marriage to the ruling Tokugawa house: Ikeda Mitsumasa 池田光政 (1609–82); Hoshina Masayuki 保科正之 (1611–72) of Aizu; Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川光圀 (1628–1700) of Mito; and Maeda Tsunanori 前田綱紀 (1643–1724) of Kaga, nephew to Mitsukuni and son-in-law to Masayuki. Of these four, it has recently been claimed that they "demonstrated a strong concern not only for Confucian 'thought,' but also for its 'rituals' (*girei* 儀礼)." ⁴¹

All four promoted Confucian-style cults of their own ancestors. Mitsukuni and Mitsumasa also encouraged Confucian ritual practices more widely in their domains. Yet none of them publicly adopted a regular sacrificial cult of Confucius. The constraints that they experienced shed light on the problems of the *sekiten* in Tokugawa Japan. Nearest the center of political power, the aborted rehearsals of Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628–1700) and his complex and ambivalent attitude to the cult of Confucius has already been discussed in detail in *The Worship of Confucius*, chapter 9; he rejected the *sekiten* at least partly on the basis of his analysis of the structure of the dominant hereditary and professional military estate. The interest in Confucian rituals of the other members of the group, especially funerals and ancestral cults, like Mitsukuni's, has attracted recent scholarly attention. ⁴²

Ikeda Mitsumasa's standing among the feudal elite was distinctive; he married the granddaughter of the second shogun Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠 (r. 1605–23), but the Ikeda lineage's formal ranking was that of "*tozama*" (outside lord; the most distant from the shogun and least trusted of vassal statuses). This combination of formal distance in the feudal order and the security of kinship association with the Tokugawa ruling house may help

41. Azuma, "Ikeda Mitsumasa," 79.

42. Ibid.

account for Mitsumasa's resolute willingness to stand up to, and on occasion criticize, the Bakufu and to adopt unconventional policies, not least in respect of his Confucianism. Of the Confucian-minded group of daimyo of this period, Mitsumasa had the most intense personal faith in the tradition and most seriously attempted to implement its ideals and imperatives in his administration.⁴³ Where Yoshinao had inaugurated the ceremony itself with bravura, Mitsumasa acted out of a quieter, but more exigent, comprehensive, stubborn, and ultimately religious, sense of Confucian moral mission. He attempted a radical Confucian conversion of the ethos and certain of the institutions of his domain. His efforts culminated in 1671 shortly before his retirement, in a remarkable domain act of ritual veneration of Confucius. However, his life-long Confucian mission had encountered complex difficulties deriving from the still unsettled socio-political order of his times. His success was fragile, short-lived, and at best partial.

Mitsumasa's engagement with Confucian ritual is to be divided into two main phases separated by a crisis in his rule in the early 1650s. During both phases, he was deeply committed to Confucianism, but during the first phase it was to a Neo-Confucianism that emphasized the subjective "mind" (*shin, kokoro*, 心) of the follower of the tradition and tended to down-play objective rituals. Mitsumasa's Confucian beliefs of this period, briefly summarized below, were later publicly disavowed, but remained a constant throughout his life. From the late 1640s, he had been drawn to Confucianism by his recently recruited vassal Kumazawa Banzan 熊沢蕃山 (1619–91), who exerted a formative influence on his daimyo,

43. For a more detailed survey of Mitsumasa's attitude to the cult of Confucius, see my article "The Confucianism of Ikeda Mitsumasa" in K  ck, Pickl-Kolaczia, and Scheid (eds.), *Managing Faith* (forthcoming). Mitsumasa's life-long conviction is well expressed some four years after his relinquishment of power in his "*Gantan shihitsu*" 元旦試筆 (New Year *essai de plume*) for 1676:

I vow to illumine true righteousness
Broadly to foster a flock of outstanding men
Above, to honor the chief virtues
Below, to foster the common people
O that, morning and night
I may not dishonor those who gave me life,
that the Confucian Way may rise and prosper
and that the realm may be at peace.

See Nagayama, *Ikeda Mitsumasa K  den*, 2: 1333; line 4 echoes *Analects* xv.24 |(ii); CC 1, 301; the penultimate line borrows from *Shijing*, Xiaoya 小雅, Xiaowan 小完, CC 4: 335.

but from whom he would ultimately become alienated.⁴⁴ Banzan was a Confucianist of the subjectivist Shingaku 心学 Neo-Confucian tradition of Nakae Tōju 中江藤樹 (1608–48), a charismatic thinker who had seceded from samurai society. Following the late Ming “idealist” Neo-Confucian Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1473–1529) Tōju privileged the individual student’s moral mind over conformity with external institutional norms such as rituals.⁴⁵ Banzan himself, at least in later life, adopted a cautious attitude to certain Confucian rites, in part on environmental and economic grounds. He accepted in principle the ceremonies prescribed in Zhu Xi’s *Wengong jiali* 文公家礼, but thought that to be practicable in contemporary Japan, they would have to be reduced.⁴⁶ Never the less, he was aware of the importance of ritual in objectifying the Confucian way: “For the scholars of the world to establish ritual in both sacrifice and mourning is good; when the learning of the Way is weak, if [rituals] are not established, the Way will not be displayed.”⁴⁷ Later, he was to be quietly in favor of the *sekiten* in principle, even suggesting in the context of the “systems of rites, music, offices, ranks and apparel” historically transmitted to Japan from China, that “because they were discontinued, we are unaccustomed to the sight of them. . . . But if we were to revive the teachings that of old flourished in schools in Japan as well [as in China] and the *shakuten* [*sc. sekiten*] and the like, it would be a rare thing.”⁴⁸ But at the same time, Banzan, true to his subjectivism, would also refer to “rituals and regulations” as “the dregs of the Sages.”⁴⁹ Nor does Mitsumasa seem to have embraced Confucian ritual at this time. In fact, evidence suggests that Ikeda ancestral rites appear to have remained conducted on Buddhist premises during this period.⁵⁰

During this period, however, Mitsumasa established a remarkable educational community known as the Hanabata Kyōjō 花畠教場 (Flower meadow school). This

44. For a detailed biography, see McMullen, *Idealism, Protest, and the Tale of Genji*.

45. There is no evidence that Tōju performed ritual veneration of Confucius. However, he was the author of a painting of Confucius. See Inoue, *Nihon Yōmei gakuha*, illustration between pp. 60–61. Such images were often objects of veneration, and some sort of service in front of this image cannot be ruled out.

46. Kumazawa, *Shūgi giron kikigaki*, 21.

47. Kumazawa, *Shūgi gaisho*, 14.

48. Kumazawa, *Shūgi Washo*, 100–101.

49. IKumazawa, *Shūgi gaisho*, 172. For more on Banzan’s attitude to ritual, see appendix 4, subsection: “Kumazawa Banzan.”

50. See entry in *Ikeda-ke rireki ryakki* 池田家履歴略記, quoted in Azuma, “Ikeda Mitsumasa,” 85.

institution, led by Banzan, offered samurai, including distinctively many from outside Okayama, a regimen of studying Confucianism, implicitly with the prospect of employment in an administrative capacity. Its “Covenant” (*Kaiyaku* 会約), written by Banzan, stressed “ritual” (*rei* 礼) but did so in the Mencian tradition as moral virtue rather than adherence to objective institutions, for ritual “expressed the respect of the mind.”⁵¹ Against this background, it is not surprising that there is no evidence of any regular ritual to venerate Confucius, either in Tōju’s academy or at the Hanabata Kyōjō in Okayama.

In the early 1650s Mitsumasa faced a triple crisis, which led him to rethink his public commitment to Confucianism. One cause of his difficulties lay with the depletion of domain finances caused by the expenses of the *sankin kōtai* system, high consumption and resulting debt incurred through the urban domicile of vassals, and an inefficient fiscal system. A second cause related to an internal crisis of security within the Tokugawa Bakufu in Edo. In 1651, the third shogun Iemitsu died. The accession of the fourth, Ietsuna 家綱 (1641–80, r. 1651–80), still a minor, occasioned tension and a power struggle. Abroad, the recent collapse of the Ming dynasty (1644) and the Manchu conquest of China suggested the possibility of an invasion of Japan. In Edo the samurai revolts of Yui Shōsetsu 由井正雪 (1651) and Betsuki 別木 (1652) shook the regime. Mitsumasa was indirectly implicated; men who claimed to be influenced by Banzan’s subjectivist Shingaku teachings were among the rebels. Banzan himself was suspected of promoting “factions.”⁵² Mitsumasa received a series of warnings against assembling large numbers of vassals to pursue Confucian learning. He had little choice but to comply. On 1654/viii/19, he forbade his vassals from studying Confucianism as a group activity, because “the household becomes carried away, as though in the thrall of a decoy.”⁵³ Mitsumasa’s promotion of Confucianism had transgressed the boundary of “circumspection and reserve” that in the eyes of the leaders of the regime protected the Tokugawa.⁵⁴ His style of Confucianism was condemned by the powerful *rōjū* Matsudaira Nobutsuna 松平信綱 (1596–1662) on the grounds that it made men “insubordinate.”⁵⁵ Under this pressure, even had Mitsumasa been disposed to do so, it would have been difficult for a

51. Kumazawa, *Hanazono kaiyaku*, 21–22.

52. On this theme, see McMullen, “Confucianism, Christianity, and Heterodoxy.”

53. *Ikeda Mitsumasa nikki*, 1654/viii/19, 252.

54. Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*, 141–42.

55. *Nobutsuna ki* 信綱記, quoted in Watanabe, *Kinsei daimyō*, 15.

collective cult of Confucius to have been established during the 1650s in Okayama.

A third major crisis was caused by natural disaster, this time within the Okayama domain itself. In 1653, persistent rain and flood damaged the castle town and the surrounding area resulting in loss of life and starvation. This adversity had the effect of intensifying Mitsumasa's personal commitment to Confucianism. He saw the flood as "the major adversity of my whole rule." He attributed it, however, not as other contemporaries might have done to Buddhist karma, but introspectively to his own failings as a Confucian ruler. It was "an admonishment from Heaven."⁵⁶

Mitsumasa's longer-term practical response to these cumulative adversities emerged slowly, but would lead to abandonment of his subjectivist attitude to ritual and ultimately facilitate a climactic ritual gesture of veneration of Confucius. Longer term reconstruction following the flood offered an opportunity both to consolidate autocratic, authoritarian power over his vassals and the various strata of rural society, and at the same time to pursue his vision of his domain as a Confucianized community.⁵⁷ This gathering of power in the ruler's hands was consistent with Confucian ideals of paternalistic autocracy delegated to officials chosen for ability. Homilies to his vassals around this time stressed particularistic loyalty to himself.⁵⁸ "This province is my province," he told his vassals: "notwithstanding, to tell people that the Mitsumasa-style is forbidden ... is surely simply putting one's lord to one side."⁵⁹ Also characteristic of this time was an intensification of Confucian moralistic rhetoric in addresses to his feudal household, urging moral responsibility and compassion, or "benevolence," in governance.

These trends were accompanied by a change of sectarian allegiance within Neo-Confucianism. Mitsumasa's public commitment shifted from Banzan's Wang Yangming influenced subjectivist Shingaku towards a more visible and objective form of "visible" Confucian ideology better suited to his authoritarian style. According to an eighteenth-century source, he concluded that "though Wang [Yangming learning] was easily intelligible, it did not have much [to offer to] government, and he embraced the learning of Zhu [Xi]."⁶⁰

56. *Ikeda Mitsumasa nikki*, 1654/viii/8, 245.

57. For a succinct summary of this process, see Taniguchi, *Okayama hansei shi*, 115-24.

58. See, for example, *Ikeda Mitsumasa nikki*, 1654/viii/19; 252.

59. "Memorandum of pronouncement" (*mōshide oboe* 申出覚), quoted and dated to "around 1652-55," in Taniguchi, *Okayama hansei shi*, 58

60. *Kondō Seigai, Sosshō roku*, quoted in Nagayama, *Ikeda Mitsumasa Kōden*, 1: 52.

Mitsumasa's choice of guidance was a group of Neo-Confucian scholars associated with the influential Kyoto commoner and orthodox Zhu Xi Neo-Confucian teacher, Nakamura Tekisai 中村惕斎 (1629–1702). This school attached importance to the outward objectification of what has been called “visible Confucianism,” chiefly in the form of ritual, which it believed to have transformative power.⁶¹ It was also vigorously anti-Buddhist and critical of the Bakufu's use of Buddhist temples as official sites of registration for the population. From 1656, Zhu Xi school Neo-Confucian scholars were summoned to the Okayama domain. Among them Ichihara Kisai 市浦毅斎 (1642–1712) became an influential “lector” (*jidoku* 侍読) to the daimyo.

Associated with this change of allegiance was a hardening of Mitsumasa's mindset, a shift from the “soft” Confucianism of Banzan towards a harder-edged, top-down dependence on administrative, political, and ritual authority rather than exemplary moral authority and hortation. Mitsumasa's new authoritarian rigorism is expressed in a canonical saying that he was reported particularly to have liked:

The Way of the Sages is not concerned with the convenience or inconvenience of matters, but, even in the very smallest thing, takes the immediate right and rejects the wrong... There is a conclusive argument for this: the assertion of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (?179–?104 BCE) that “the benevolent man preserves righteousness correctly and does not calculate profit; he illumines the Way, and does not make success his aim.”⁶²

One early politically and culturally innocuous ritual expression of Mitsumasa's reading of Confucianism at this time was a public embrace of the Confucian imperative to filial piety and the associated ancestor worship, a value also central to the teaching of Nakae Tōju. On 1655/ii/15, he led a group of his senior housemen and others in a ceremony within Okayama castle addressed to newly made ancestral Confucian-style spirit tablets of his ancestors. Addressing these tablets, Mitsumasa announced a break from Buddhism:

Before now, my sacrifices to ancestors (*sokō* 祖考) have wholly been entrusted to Buddhists, and have not on my part exhausted sincerity and respect. Now I believe in the Way of the Sages and desire to erect a new lineage shrine and myself offer sacrifice

61. For this concept, see Shu, “Cultural and Political Encounters,” 103, 134, 136.

62. Nagayama, *Ikeda Mitsumasa Kōden*, 2: 1144–45; for documentation of the source of this quotation, Mitsumasa's fondness of it, and for Banzan's divergent interpretation, see McMullen, *Idealism, Protest and the Tale of Genji*, 145, notes 126–27.

and worship. However, because of crop failure and famine, I have not been able to effect this reform, and so roughly following the old system I have temporarily made tablets and for the first time use the mid-spring month respectfully to make offerings.⁶³

This Confucian ceremony was only a beginning. In 1658 a disciple of Tōju was appointed “magistrate for the daimyo’s ancestral shrine” *Gōbyōbugyō* 御廟奉行, and a ruler’s Confucian-style ancestral shrine was built in the second enceinte of Okayama castle shrine. This consisted of a hall with three feretories, for respectively Terumasa [grandfather], for Toshitaka [father] and their wives. One was reserved for Mitsumasa himself.⁶⁴ The tablets were transferred there on 1656/2/ii/1.⁶⁵ This shrine, close to the main enceinte of the castle, became the principal site of Mitsumasa’s Confucian filial religiosity, with regular visits on New Year’s Day itself. A climax of his filial piety came later in 1667 when he ordered the exhumation from Myōshinji 妙心寺 in Kyoto of the remains of his Ikeda ancestors of the previous two generations and their Confucian-style reinternment at a more accessible rural site at Waidani in the west of the Okayama domain.⁶⁶

These filial rituals were no doubt intended to be exemplary and suasive. But Mitsumasa’s commitment to Confucianism would expand into a broader attempt to convert his domain to that persuasion. However, he bided his time until the second half of the 1660s, more than a decade following the domain crisis. Several reasons may account for his delay. The Bakufu critics of his Confucianism, Matsudaira Nobutsuna and Sakai Tadakatsu, had both died in 1662; Ichiura Kisai, his main Confucian advisor, seems to have been absent from the domain for a while in the interim, and lack of expert Confucian advice might have delayed Mitsumasa’s Confucianization program.⁶⁷ More opportunistically, as Stephan Köck shows, the Bakufu’s interdiction of the Fujufuse sect of Nichiren Buddhism in 1665 may also have sanctioned Mitsumasa’s wider reform of Buddhism in Okayama and, by extension, his promotion of Confucianism in its place.⁶⁸ Circumstantially also the slightly earlier reform of Buddhism implemented in his Mito domain by Tokugawa Mitsukuni might also have

63. Nagayama, *Ikeda Mitsumasa Kōden*, 1: 698; for the full directives, *ibid.*, 696-701

64. For iconographical and liturgical analysis, see Azuma “Ikeda Mitsumasa to Jukyō,” 85-87.

65. For directives of installing the tablets, see Nagayama, *Ikeda Mitsumasa Kōden*, 1: 702-05. See also Azuma, “Ikeda Mitsumasa to Jukyō,” 87.

66. Nagayama, *Ikeda Mitsumasa Kōden*, 1: 708-49.

67. See Kasai, *Kinsei hankō*, 2: 1166.

68. In Köck, Pickl-Kolaczia, and Scheid (eds.), *Managing Faith* (forthcoming).

prompted his action at this time.⁶⁹

Be that as it may, in 1666 Mitsumasa embarked on Confucianization. He promoted Confucian style funeral and ancestor worship practices and encouraged the people of the domain to “consider the *Karei* 家礼 (domestic ritual of Zhu Xi) in funeral ceremonial and ‘sacrifices’ (*matsuri* 祭) in accordance with their status.”⁷⁰ He founded schools, the natural home of the cult of Confucius, throughout his domain. At the popular level, a confidential order issued in 1666/v established *tenaraisho* 手習所 (literacy schools; places of basic education); by 1668, they had been founded in 123 places, staffed mainly from the village head stratum, and by Shinto priests, doctors, occasionally *rōnin*, and others.⁷¹ These schools were intended to serve a practical as well as Confucian educational end: to replace the literacy essential for efficient rural administration threatened by Mitsumasa’s assault on Buddhist temples and their associated schools.⁷² But the measure was also driven by Mitsumasa’s sense of Confucian moral mission. Evidence that these institutions taught filial piety suggests that they represent an attempt to wrest this value way from Buddhism and to provide the underpinnings of the paternalistically governed and submissive rural society that Mitsumasa envisioned. No rite to venerate Confucius, however, is recorded of these schools.

In this respect, the cult of Confucius in late feudal Okayama, or indeed elsewhere in Japan, never approached the diffusion attained on the Korean peninsula. As prescribed by the influential Yi I 李珥 (1536–84) in a work entitled *Hoejip togyaku pōp* 会集読約法 (Gathering to read the Compact), the local Korean *sowon* 書院 (academies) were designated meeting places at which members of the “Community Compact” “high and low” gathered in “a semi-religious atmosphere” in front of the “spirit tablets of Confucius, of his disciples, and of Confucian worthies of later times,” and “expressed their respect by bowing and burning incense.”⁷³ Comparison with Mitsumasa’s project shows that his promotion of Confucian beliefs and practices in Okayama rural society was in Confucian terms relatively superficial. No ritual veneration of Confucius was required of the rural population. None the less, it may be noted that the Okayama policy complied with the Confucian canonical injunction favored

69. See Ikeda Mitsumasa *nikki*, 1667/iv/16, 577; Taniguchi, *Okayama hansei-shi*, 579-80.

70. For more detail, see McMullen, “Ikeda Mitsumasa and Confucian ritual.”

71. Taniguchi, *Okayama hansei-shi*, 560.

72. *Ibid.*, 561, 564.

73. Deuchler, “Ritual and Order in Chosŏn Dynasty Korea,” 306. See also appendix 7(b): “Korea.”

by Nakamura Tekisai. “Let there be a careful attention to perform the funeral rites to parents, and let them be followed when long gone with the ceremonies of sacrifice - then the virtue of the people will resume its proper excellence.”⁷⁴

Confucianism posited that the virtues that it extolled were best diffused in society by the exemplary conduct of virtuous men in positions of authority. Mitumasa’s popular education measures were accompanied by a fresh educational initiative at the level of the samurai the estate charged with administration. To replace the now defunct Hanabatake Kyōjō, Mitumasa founded a temporary domain school for samurai in 1666. The new school proved too cramped and was refounded and lavishly expanded on a permanent site in 1669. However, though Okayama was a large and comparatively wealthy domain, it contained no separate purpose-built sacred space for the veneration of Confucius, though a “Middle Room” was assigned for this purpose. A simple Confucian ceremony to venerate Confucius was performed at the opening of the still incomplete new building at Ishiyama on 1669/vii/25.⁷⁵ Kumazawa Banzan was invited by Mitumasa to officiate on this occasion.⁷⁶ Though this has been referred to as a *sekisai*, it was actually an opening ceremony, rather than a regular performance. It is, however, significant that the ceremony was performed in the presence of members of the senior feudal hierarchy. For the first time, the spirit of Confucius was admitted to the pantheon of spirits worshipped in the feudal domain of Okayama. Mitumasa himself, however, was in Edo on *sankin kōtai* at this time. Significantly, the ceremony was

74. Nakamura Tekisai, *Tsuien sosetsu jo* 追遠疎序. In Shibata Atsushi, “Nakamura Tekisai,” 280-81; *Analects* I, 9, CC 1: 141.

75. NKSS 2: 585-86: “In a feretory in the Middle Room, a scroll of calligraphy written ‘Perfect Sage King of Universal Culture’ [by Nakae Tōju] had been hung. At the hour of the snake (*mi* 巳), Shigeyama Ryōkai [Banzan] approached the incense table, lit incense, bowed to the ground 俯伏. The audience (those present) all bowed twice; when that was done, they recited the *Classic of Filial Piety* in unison. Ryōkai removed the *noshiawabi* in front of the spirit and placed it in the center of the Middle Room and closed the doors [of the feretory]. Thereupon, the senior vassals down to the heads [of the various groups] received the offerings themselves and withdrew. For the samurai and students, Izumi Hachimon 泉八右衛門 (Nakayoshi 中愛) and Tsuda Jūjirō 津田重次郎 (Nagatada 永忠) handed them out. Those present (the audience again) all bowed twice and returned to their positions. The Confucianist Miyake Kazō 三宅可三 lectured on the *Classic of Filial Piety*. When this was completed, those present all retired.”

76. Nagayama, *Ikeda Mitumasa Kōden*, 1: 865.

performed in the presence of members of the domain senior feudal hierarchy. Numbers attending were considerable: a total of 164 domain senior personnel and students.⁷⁷

Kumazawa Banzan continued for a while to play a role in the ritual life of the new school. He stayed on in Okayama after the opening of the school and on 1670/i/5 presided over a closely similar version of the school inaugural ceremony to initiate the school work of the new year of 1670.⁷⁸ Meanwhile, the Ikeda house began to give the new school ceremonial attention. When the school was finally completed, his son Tsunamasa 綱政 (1638–1714), “offered incense and bowed to the Sage’s altar.” On his return from Edo, Mitsumasa himself took the main role in a similar ceremony of inspection on 1670/v/14.⁷⁹

But Mitsumasa’s boldest gesture was reserved for the new year of 1671. He was 63 by Japanese reckoning by this time, and this climactic ceremony took place just three and a half months before what was to be his final journey on *sankin kōtai* for Edo where he would tender his resignation. Mitsumasa exploited this symbolically most important time of year to make his first and only public sacrifice to Confucius. On 1671/i/2, he ostentatiously performed a sacrificial ritual to the Sage’s spirit in the presence of senior members of the domain feudal hierarchy at his new school.⁸⁰ The ritual had been set in train on New Year’s Day itself, when “at the hour of the dragon” [about 8 a.m.]. “Kawasaki Gon’emon 川崎権右衛門 opened the doors to the Middle Room and made the offering of decorations to the mirror cakes.” At mid-morning on the following day (presumably after the visit to the shrine of Tokugawa Ieyasu):

[T]he Lord [Mitsumasa] attended at the school, washed his hands and gargled. He proceeded before the Sage, offered incense and prostrated himself (*fufuku* 俯伏) making two bows. He performed the first reading of the opening chapter of the *Classic of Filial Piety*; when done he took his seat at the on the lower floor of the Middle Room.⁸¹

77. Ibid., 862-63. Pace Azuma, “Ikeda Mitsumasa to Jukyō,” 95, this ceremony can only loosely be termed a *sekisai*, but has more in common with Mitsumasa’s *yomizome* of 1671, see below.

78. For the liturgy, see Nagayama, *Ikeda Mitsumasa Kōden*, 1: 841-42.

79. For both visits, see NKSS 2: 601.

80. For details of the ceremony, see Nagayama, *Ikeda Mitsumasa Kōden*, 1: 865; a shorter account is in NKSS 2: 601.

81. There were competing cults and rituals at this time of year. Offerings to the spirits of Mitsumasa’s Ikeda ancestors took priority, being made on New Year’s Day (e.g. 1656/i/1, *Ikeda Mitsumasa nikki*, 329). Tokugawa Ieyasu was enshrined as Tōshō gongen 東照権現, tutelary deity of Okayama castle; Mitsumasa records visiting the shrine as first act of the second day of the year, “before dawn”; visits to Buddhist temples followed (e.g. 1657/i/2, *ibid.*, 375). It would be interesting to know

Following further readings of the *Classic* by those present:

Next, [Hiki 日置] Samon 左門 Samon removed the offerings and placed them in the middle of the Middle Room, and the Lord [Mitsumasa] washed his hands and gargled and received the offerings with his own hands. He requested that all without exception from the Senior Council on down should [also] receive the offerings, and the Senior Council, Captains of guards down to the personal attendants proceeded to the Middle Room and received them. Next Tsuda Jūjirō [Nagatada] and Nakae Yasaburō proceeded to the Middle Room and with chopsticks distributed the offerings. The students all went to the west of the Lecture Hall and received the offerings, then withdrew. Then the musicians and personnel of the school follow them and down to their children receive offering on the east and west sides of the lower section of the Middle Room. Yamawaki Saemon 山脇左衛門 and Ishizu Yarokurō 石津弥六郎 distributed them.⁸²

The occasion and scale of this ceremony appear to have been unprecedented at the time outside Yoshinao's Nagoya ceremony and the 1670 Rinke *sekisai* in Edo. But, once more, this was not technically a *sekiten* or *sekisai*. It was, in fact, an adaptation of the two ceremonies led earlier by Kumazawa Banzan and speculatively may, indeed, have been designed by him. Perhaps with deliberate intent to avoid possible provocation or competition with the Rinke ceremony in Edo, it was called a *yomizome* 読初 (“first reading [of the New Year]”). Such “first readings” from the Confucian classics had been a personal custom of Mitsumasa for at least a decade and reflect his own dedication to the tradition. On New Year's Day 1661, for instance, “He visited his [parents'] shrine in hunting robes. After hanging a scroll [bearing the words] ‘between father and son there is closeness,’ [he performed the] *yomizome* from the *Classic of Filial piety* in accordance with precedent.”⁸³ The ritual does not appear to have canonical origin, but might derive from a Kamakura precedent; a New Year “reading” for the boy third Kamakura shogun Minamoto no Sanetomo 源実朝 (r. 1192–1219) is recorded for 1204/i/12 and again, specifically as “*Go dokusho hajime*” 御読書始 on 1206/i/12.⁸⁴

whether this visit to the Confucian school displaced the visit to Buddhist temples that Mitsumasa still often made on this day.

82. Nagayama, *Ikeda Mitsumasa Kōden*, 1: 865.

83. “Hōretsu Kō nenpyō,” 65.

84. *Azuma Kagami*, KT 32: 616, 632.

Whether or not indebted to Kamakura period precedent, Mitsumasa's 1671 New Year sacrificial rite was no longer a gesture of private devotion to Confucius, but had expanded to include the senior feudal community and domain school samurai students. The New Year, furthermore, was the time in which rulers orientated themselves to cosmic powers, to ancestors. As leader of the political hierarchy entrusted with rule over the land, Mitsumasa was doing little less than exploiting the New Year to reposition the religious basis of his rule as Confucian rather than Buddhist or even Shinto. This ritual, therefore, had strong elements of "cosmic ordering." Mitsumasa himself distributed offerings to his feudal subordinates, acting symbolically as steward and agent of the sustenance of his domain, the benefaction provided, in his belief, by a Confucian Heaven. His performance of the leading liturgical role in a service of homage and sacrifice to Confucius on this day in the presence of his domain hierarchy signalled beyond challenge the central place that he had identified for himself as Confucian lord and for Confucianism in the life of the domain.

Mitsumasa's grand *yomizome*, however, was to be a once-off performance. 1671 was Mitsumasa's final year as daimyo in Okayama. He left on 1671/iii/15 for Edo on *sankin kōtai*. There, far from his domain, on the following New Year's Day of 1672, he meditated, hung up a scroll of Tōju's calligraphy, and performed a *yomizome* in the Okayama mansion. This, however, was once more, personal and private. On 1672/vi/11, he submitted his resignation to the shogun. The New Year's *yomizome* ritual of 1671, therefore, was the climactic event of Mitsumasa's performance of the role of Confucian ruler, and among his final acts as daimyo of Okayama.⁸⁵

Rulership over Okayama passed to Ikeda Tsunamasa, Mitsumasa's heir, a man of very different character. Tsunamasa was the product of a less self-demanding generation, a Buddhist by persuasion and rumored to dislike Confucian learning, an aesthete rather than a moralist, and legalistic and despotic rather than philanthropic. He lacked his father's sense of Confucian mission but was more interested in the kind of cultural avocations that might constitute "cultural display." As Hall puts it: "While Mitsumasa had emphasized the moral leadership of the daimyo, Tsunamasa built up the daimyo's prestige through his behavior as

85. Whether after Mitsumasa's departure the *yomizome* continued to be practiced in the domain school, and, if so, led and attended by whom and in what form, requires further research. It may be noted that regular performance of *yomizome* at the domain's Shizutani school was initiated from 1711 (*Shizutani gakkō shi*, 464).

cultural leader of aristocratic style.”⁸⁶ He had been unenthusiastic over his father’s Confucianization program; in his opinion Mitsumasa’s attempts in that direction “should be treated lightly.”⁸⁷ Soon after his succession as daimyo of Okayama, he abolished most of his father’s Confucianization and rural educational measures and dramatically reducing the size of the domain school and closed all but one of the rural literacy schools. He appears not to have repeated his father’s climactic *yomizome* ceremony of 1671; that rite lapsed into a modest regular annual probably intramural ritual to launch the new year’s school work held on i/5.⁸⁸

None the less, a decade later, on 1682/ii/16 Tsunamasa and his younger brother Masakoto 政言 (1645–1700) personally participated in a *sekisai* ceremony at the domain school that finally inaugurated regular official veneration of Confucius in Okayama.⁸⁹ The liturgy for this short ceremony was designed by Ichiura Kisai, Mitsumasa’s “lector” and a member of the circle of Kyoto Zhu Xi Neo-Confucians that included Nakamura Tekisai.⁹⁰ This 1682 ceremony stipulated one libationer (the daimyo himself) and seems likely to have been based on the Zhu retreat liturgy.

At first sight, this ritual might seem the fulfillment of Mitsumasa’s dreams. Indeed, staged as it was during Mitsumasa’s final illness, Tsunamasa may have intended a solace to his dying father. Indeed, not long before his death Mitsumasa had observed to his “great pleasure” that his son’s “aspirations have for the most part become like mine.”⁹¹ However, Mitsumasa’s euphoria was misplaced. By this time, after the accession in 1680 of the fifth shogun, Tsunayoshi, attitudes to the *sekiten* in Edo had changed; inhibitions such as Mitsumasa’s concerning the collective veneration of Confucius had become outmoded. But Tsunamasa’s ceremony was informed by a different spirit from that of his father’s *yomizome*. The 1669 and 1671 sacrificial ceremonies to venerate Confucius under Mitsumasa had involved the whole domain feudal hierarchy; they represented the daimyo’s symbolic

86. Hall, *Government and Local Power*, 409.

87. Taniguchi, *Okayama hansei shi*, 601.

88. Nagayama, *Ikeda Mitsumasa Kōden*, 1: 842.

89. On the memorializing of Izumi Nakayoshi (Kumazawa Banzan’s younger brother), the Shisei bunsen’ō 至聖文宣王 scroll in the hand of Nakae Tōju had been replaced with a tablet inscribed in the daimyo’s own hand, with the more up to date title “Shisei senshi Kōshi shin” 至聖先師孔子神位 (Altar of the Perfect Sage and Former Teacher Master Kong). See *NKSS* 6: 108.

90. For an outline of the liturgy, see *ibid*.

91. “Hōretsu Kō nenpyō,” 126

dedication of the domain to Confucian morality. Tsunamasa's ceremony, by contrast, owed more to the Rinke performance of 1670 in Edo and, later, the performances of the Genroku period under Tsunayoshi as described in *The Worship of Confucius* chapters 8 and 10. They were not so much "cosmic ordering" as "cultural display."

An illuminating comparison is to be drawn with the fate another of Mitsumasa's late idealistic Confucian projects, implementation of the "well-field" (*seiden* 井田) system in his domain. This was an ancient Chinese system of land allocation and light taxation in a pattern of ten paddy fields, nine of which were allocated to individual families, but the product of the tenth, worked collaboratively by these families, was wholly taken in tax making the tax burden a canonical one tenth of the product.⁹² On newly reclaimed land in 1670, Mitsumasa had ordered the replication of this arrangement. However, in 1675 Tsunamasa, finding "wastage" in this project, imposed normal far higher tax rates on this land.⁹³ Mitsumasa's attempt to realize an ancient Confucian ideal had lasted only three years.⁹⁴

As with the *sekisai*, Tsunamasa's view of well fields differed from his father's. In 1688, he ordered Tsuda Nagatada to build the Okayama pleasure garden now known as Kōrakuen 後樂園. In one corner he had a small-scale well-field constructed, in which, from 1689, he seems to have staged an annual rice planting by local peasants for the diversion of his vassals.⁹⁵ What, for his father, had been a compelling ancient moral ideal of benevolent government had, for the son, become a pretext for "cultural display." Tsunamasa's veneration of Confucius evidently impacted little on the conduct of domain administration. External evidence suggests that Tsunamasa's administration abandoned his father's attempts at Confucian benevolent administration. Kumazawa Banzan, writing in anguished remonstrance in 1685/viii/2, accused Tsunamasa of oppressive administration through "harsh laws non-existent in the past."⁹⁶ Mitsumasa's dream of a Confucianized realm in Okayama had been vitiated, replaced by a regime criticized for its severity.

Meanwhile, the Okayama *sekisai* ceremony continued to develop in the direction of "cultural display" much in the manner of its Edo Rinke counterpart. In 1695 it was expanded;

92. For this episode, see Shibata Hajime, *Tsuda Nagatada*, 80-82. A well-known canonical source for well-fields is *Mencius* IIIA, 13-19, CC 2: 243-45.

93. Letter to Sakai Tadakiyo 1675/vi/15; Taniguchi, *Okayama hansei shi*, 568.

94. Shibata Hajime, *Tsuda Nagatada*, 82.

95. *Ibid.*, 153-55.

96. Kumazawa, *Banzan zenshū* 6: 166.

and in 1702 music was added (three *shō*, one large drum, two *hichiriki*, three flutes, one drum and gong). The libation was now delegated to a member of the Ikeda kindred, and the ceremony concluded with a lecture on the *Analects*, distribution of the sacrificial viands (oblations) among the attending students and a communal meal. With this, “the *sekiten* ceremony was completely furnished, and these precedents were followed this until the abolition of the domain.”⁹⁷ However, later developments further weakened any tension between the ceremony and the samurai order. In 1728, regulations for the dress to be worn were issued: *hoi* for daimyo or his proxy; officiands and *monogashira*: *nagakamishimo*; ordinary samurai; *hankamishimo*; thus status relations extraneous to the liturgy itself and inconsistent with any ideal of Confucian equality within the academic community were imposed on the ceremony. In 1745, Tsugumasa 継政, the third Ikeda lord of Okayama, gave orders that a portrait, painted by himself, of his grandfather be placed by the side of the Sage’s tablet and receive offerings. Thus, Confucian piety and feudal ancestor worship were unified in a single ceremony, any tension between them apparently resolved, and the message of Confucius further diluted.⁹⁸

Mitsumasa’s vision of the role of Confucianism in his domain was, however, not completely lost for posterity. In a justly celebrated measure, he had secured the construction of a school for commoners, Shizutani gakumonjo 閑谷学問所, technically a “country school” (*Gōkō* 郷校). This school had a small purpose-built shrine to Confucius at which Mitsumasa himself, after his retirement, is recorded to have made an obeisance to the Sage. Nakamura Tekisai is said to have visited the school in the fourth month of 1686; some weeks before an inaugural *sekisai* ceremony, on the liturgy of which he was consulted, was held there in the 8th month.⁹⁹ Tekisai later also designed a bronze image of Confucius. For the shrine; this was cast in 1704 and installed in 1707.¹⁰⁰ An initial *sekisai* ceremony was conducted by Obara Jōbuken 小原丈夫軒 (1637–1712), yet another member of Tekisai’s Kyoto circle, from the Domain School and became regular each autumn thereafter. The Okayama cult subsequently settled into a pattern of alternation between the spring ceremony at the domain school and an autumn ceremony at the commoner school in Shizutani.

97. NKSS 6: 108.

98. Ibid., 6: 109.

99. Shibata Hajime, *Tsuda Nagatada*, 129.

100. Made in 1701; *nenpu*, in *ibid.*, 130.

But the cult of the domain founder himself was not neglected in this commoner school. In 1686, a shrine to Mitsumasa himself was constructed to the east of that for Confucius; the liturgy of a ceremony there for that year is recorded.¹⁰¹ It was the custom to conduct a ceremony immediately following the *sekisai* to Confucius and before the lecture. It has been suggested that Mitsumasa was intended as a correlate to the offering to Confucius.¹⁰² Once more, the Okayama domain had associated Confucian piety and the cult of the ancestor of the ruling feudal lineage.¹⁰³

Aizu

Over time the Ikeda had successfully synthesized the cult of Confucius with the domain rulers' ancestral cult, but arguably at the cost of weakening the Confucian element cherished by Ikeda Mitsumasa. By contrast, in the Aizu domain, the third of the Confucian "illustrious lords," Hoshina Masayuki 保科正之 (1611–72), seems early to have privileged a Shinto domain ancestral cult, a syncretic Shinto-Confucianism, in a manner that led to direct suggestions of tension with Confucian claims to universality. Masayuki, grandson of the founding warlord and half-brother of the third shogun, himself became a Shinto adept under the tutelage of his teacher, the Shintoist Yoshikawa Koretaru 吉川惟足 (1616–94), employed in Aizu in 1660.¹⁰⁴ Masayuki's enthusiasm for Shinto and instructions for his Shinto burial were interpreted as a potential challenge to Tokugawa authority, and required tense negotiation with the Bakufu.

But Masayuki was also a keen Confucian of the Zhu Xi school. He employed the prominent Confucian Zhu Xi zealot, Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇斎, (1618–82) as adviser in 1664. Ansai inclined to Confucian-Shinto syncretism. He concerned himself with indigenous sources of sacralization, notably with providing a Shinto-style theological framework for veneration of the deified Masayuki. He is regarded as the founder of the historically important

101. NKSS 6: 109.

102. Shiraki, *Shizutani Seidō*, 19.

103. The program however, was eventually perceived as financially burdensome; in 1777, the number of those attending the feast was restricted to liturgical officers and those attending the school, "in accordance with the simplicity of recent years." NKSS 6: 106.

104. Kasai, *Kinsei hankō*, 203. For a discussion of Masayuki's Shintoism and his desire for a Shinto burial, see the masterful discussion in Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*, 143–49.

Suika Shintō 垂加神道 (Shinto of grace and favor), a syncretic school of Confucianized Shinto.¹⁰⁵

Ansai's obscurantist and particularistic Shinto-Confucian syncretic beliefs, however, led him to question the universality of Confucian ritual and to plead for a national particularism that, in theory, could lead to objections to the universalist claims of the cult of Confucius. The following well-known anecdote as reported and endorsed by his leading disciple, Asami Keisai 浅見綱斎 (1652–1711), suggests that Confucius' personal status as a Chinese posed a problem in Japan. Ansai seemed to hint that Chinese rituals were inappropriate for Japanese.

Master Yamazaki once said: "If an attempt were to be made to subjugate Japan from China, if an army was involved, even were Yao, Shun Wen or Wu to come as generals, it would be one's great righteousness to destroy them even if with stones, fire and arrows. Even if they tried to subjugate Japan with ritual, righteousness and transformation by virtue, it would be best not to become their vassal. This is the way of the *Spring and autumn annals*." This is very clear.¹⁰⁶

Here was a recrudescence of the ancient tension between indigenous tradition and foreign cult. It was destined to be developed further in the Kimon thought of Ansai's disciple Asami Keisai.¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile, no *sekisai* was initiated during Masayuki's rule, even though Ansai is known to have possessed a statue of Confucius. It was only after the deaths of both Masayuki and Ansai, during the Genroku period, that the third Hoshina daimyo, Masakata 正容 (1669–1731) "placed an image of the Sage Confucius once a gift of Yamazaki Takayoshi 敬義

105. For a comprehensive account of Yamazaki Ansai's thought and Suika Shintō, see Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, especially chapter 7: "Suika and Kimon: The Way and Language."

106. Asami Keisai, *Seiken igen kōgi* [preface dated Genroku 2], quoted in Hara Nensai, *Sentetsu sōdan*, ed. Minamoto Ryōen, 119. Not all the Kimon school shared this view. Satō Naokata, who inclined to universalism, wrote:

I believe that even now, when a great sage emerges in China, occupies his [proper] rank and transformation by virtue is achieved to beyond the four seas, Japan too should follow among their number, and that it would be right to submit as vassals. . . . However, if a sage were to use violence like the Mongols, then one should resist. But a sage or worthy would not be expected to attack a country out of greed for land behave like that. (quoted in *ibid.*, 119-20)

107. See *WOC*, chapter 12, subsection: "The Kimon School."

[Ansai] in the lecture room and made a Sage's Shrine."¹⁰⁸ The famous Aizu domain school, the Nisshinkan 日新館, with its fine Taiseiden, was not to be built until 1803.

Kaga

Maeda Tsunanori 前田綱紀 (1643–1724), daimyo of Kanazawa (1,022,000 *koku*, *tozama*), was effectively a generation younger than the three other early period Confucian “illustrious lords.” He was the third-generation lord of the Tokugawa regime’s largest domain, and was close to Mitsukuni, to whom he was related by marriage.¹⁰⁹ As with his Confucian-minded daimyo colleagues, ancestral worship occupied an important place in Tsunanori’s life. Like Mitsukuni, he courted the Ming refugee Zhu Shunsui 朱舜水 (1600–82). Zhu drew up a series of diagrams on ancestral shrines for Tsunanori, and rehearsed this rite with the liturgically precocious Hattori Kichū.¹¹⁰ Tsunanori also employed the Confucian scholars Matsunaga Sekigo 松永尺五 (1592–1657) and Kinoshita Jun’an 木下順庵 (1621–98), both of whom had experience of the *sekisai* rite in Kyoto. It was only to be expected that Tsunanori would be interested in staging it in his own domain.

According to a late tradition, Tsunanori had Zhu Shunsui inscribe a “host” tablet to Confucius, used for worship in Kaga. Tsunanori had Jun’an perform the role of *saishu* 祭主 (leader of sacrifice) in a *sekiten* ceremony within his castle (*tennai* 殿内); and he himself performed the liturgical role of *haiten* 拝奠 (bowing and offering). After Jun’an left for Bakufu employment, observance of the ceremony was continued by his disciples in the Kaga domain, Muro Kyūsō 室鳩巢 (1658–1734), Okajima Sekiryō 岡島石梁 (1666–1709), and others. “Thus, in successive generations the *sekiten* rite was performed year after year within the castle.”¹¹¹

Despite the great wealth of this domain, however, no permanent sacred space appears to have been allotted to the ceremony at this stage; nor was a school established. The construction of a Senseiden 先聖殿 (Hall of the Former Sage) and school was listed by his

108. NKSS 1: 681.

109. Shu, “Cultural and Political Encounters,” 20–30, 60.

110. See Chard, “Zhu Shunshui’s Plans.”

111. Shu Zen’an, “Cultural and Political Encounters,” 180–81; Kondō, *Kaga Shōun kō*, 2: 448–51; for the tablet, *ibid.*, 452–54; for the role of the liturgically talented Hattori Kichū, Shu Zen’an “Cultural and Political Encounters,” 177–81.

biographer among Tsunanori's "great wishes," and he seems to have been feeling his way towards initiating the project.¹¹² He named his library the Sonkeikaku 尊經閣, the name of the library in Zhu's design for a Confucian school and ritual precinct, but the rest of the project remained unrealized during Tsunanori's lifetime. It was not to be until the time of his grandson, the eleventh Maeda daimyo Harunaka 治修 (1745–1810), that the school and shrine, Meirindō 明倫堂, were finally constructed.¹¹³ Tsunanori's Meiji-period biographer was mystified by this failure, noting that the preparations such as the requisite Confucian personnel and library were in place; he echoed the sentiment of Tokugawa Mitsukuni: that the step of construction was in theory an easy one for a daimyo and seems to suggest unconvincingly that it was a matter of insufficient time from practical affairs.¹¹⁴ Another explanation, however, might be that Masanori was convinced by Mitsukuni's intellectual doubts about the practicality of school and cult in his domain and preferred to keep his devotion to Confucianism a personal matter.

Yonezawa

If the *meikun* of the seventeenth century had been inhibited from establishing the ceremony, Tsunayoshi's flamboyant patronage from 1680 dispelled the need for caution. His endorsement was greeted among Confucians as a restitution of ancient practice and an indication of moral revival. The Genroku and Hōei periods saw a modest spike in the rate of inaugurating *sekiten* ceremonies. The tendency of practices at the Bakufu center to be replicated in the provinces, one theme of Tokugawa period political and intellectual history, is illustrated by the well-documented history of the *sekiten* in the Yonezawa domain.¹¹⁵ Here, the course followed the now familiar pattern of an initially private practice later endorsed by higher political authority. The domain "Confucian doctor" (*ju* 儒医), Yaoita San'in 矢尾板三印, had "set up a Sage's hall in his private residence and had privately performed the

112. Kondō, *Kaga Shōun kō*, 2: 441-42.

113. Kasai, *Kinsei hankō*, 1: 464. Meirindō was founded in 1792. A set of directives transcribed by Yuasa Kankyō 湯浅寛恭 in 1841 for a spring *sekisai* is found in NKSS 6: 75-77. It contains the formula for an *Engishiki*-style invocation in the name of an unnamed governor (*yūsai* 邑宰) ordering an unnamed person.

114. Kondō, *Kaga Shōun kō*, 2: 456.

115. This account of the Yonezawa ceremony draws on Sudō, *Kinsei Nihon no sekiten*, part 2, chapter 1: "Yonezawa Han Kyōjōkan no sekiten" 米沢藩興讓館の釈奠.

sekiten in spring and autumn.”¹¹⁶ In 1697, however, the daimyo, Uesugi Tsunanori 上杉綱憲 (1663-1704), had the shrine rebuilt as the Kanrinden 感麟殿 with a Lecture Hall alongside. On 1697/xi/29, a “removal” (*senza* 遷座) ceremony was enacted that parallels that of the removal of the Rinke images from Shinobugaoka to Shōheizaka six years before.¹¹⁷ The following year, on iii/22, a ceremony was held that replicated Tsunayoshi’s first attendance at the Shōheizaka shrine with Tsunanori drinking the “spirit wine of good fortune” (*Shinshu no inpuku* 神酒の飲福).

A *mikoshi* 神輿 (portable shrine) was borne, respectfully escorted, from the Yaoita residence to the new hall at the hour of the hare (*u* 卯, around 6 o’clock in the morning); the image was placed in position in a feretory; and ceremonial offerings were made of wine, red and white rice, *mochi*, fruit and salted *awabi* to the image and to scrolls of the seventy disciples on either side. An incense burner and candles were placed in front of the image and picture (candles). An “announcement” (*kokubun*) was read to the “Former Sage, King of Culture Universal” (Sensei bunsen’ō [先聖文宣王]) announcing the rebuilding of the hall and installation of the images; further obeisances and “cultural display” in the form of offering of poems were followed by a lecture on the *Analects*. There ensued another lecture in the Lecture Hall, and a feast and performance of excerpts from Noh plays (*shimai* 仕舞).¹¹⁸ Thereafter the celebrants adjourned to the Lecture Hall and gifts were exchanged between the daimyo and the Yaoita family, San’in’s wife receiving five bolts (*ha* 把) of cotton, his son 300 pieces (*hiki* 疋) of gold and daughter, 200. There followed lectures by Yaoita father and son, followed by a dinner and more lectures. The daimyo returned to the castle at the hour of the monkey (about 4 o’clock in the afternoon).

However, the Yonezawa ceremony was no exception to the instability and vulnerability of *sekiten-sekisai* practices of the period and to financial pressures. Following the deaths of the daimyo (1704) and San’in (1705), the Yaoita family was relieved of office. The domain’s economic situation declined, partly as a result of Bakufu imposts further exacerbated by crop failure. From the autumn of 1724, the official performance of the *sekisai* was suspended. A new Confucianist family, the Katayama 片山, however, “grieving at the

116. Ibid., 192.

117. Ibid.

118. Summarizing the detailed account given in *ibid.*, 192-96.

suspension of the *sekisai* and fearing the intention of the spirit,” embarked on “self-management” (*jibun keiei* 自分経営) of the ceremony.¹¹⁹ Though there was some diminution of the offerings, continuity was maintained until official help with the offerings was resumed under the eighth daimyo, Shigesada 重定 (1720–98). Only in 1799, accompanying the surge in inaugurations and revivals of that period, was the official ceremony revived in a domain school (since 1776 renamed the Kyōjōkan 興讓館).

Taku

A more sustained feudal patronage of the cult, though still the product of individual feudal elite enthusiasm, came from Taku Shigefumi 多久茂文 (1669–1711), the bookish daimyo of the small Taku sub-fief of the Saga domain in western Kyushu. This was an area of the country where promoters of the ceremony could draw on greater cultural support for Confucianism than elsewhere. Perhaps because of its greater proximity to the peninsula and continent, Western Kyushu enjoyed a relatively high level of receptivity to Confucianism, as exemplified by the activities of commoners such as Taketomi Rensai 武富廉斎 (1637–1718) and the near-blind peasant Sanematsu Genrin 実松元林 (1639–1726) discussed in appendix 3. Taku Shigefumi could have done little without the earlier achievements of these men. His promotion of the rite is yet another example of the process whereby commoner interest and initiatives were co-opted by the governing feudal elite. It also illustrates an aspect of its appeal to the feudal elite different from that to commoners. Shigefumi also bequeathed one of the grandest, and perhaps most eccentric, monuments to one man’s Confucian piety of the whole history of the cult of Confucius in pre-modern Japan. Little better illustrates the variety and dependence on individuals’ enthusiasm of feudal patronage.¹²⁰

Taku Shigefumi was one of twenty sons and twenty-nine daughters of the third Saga daimyo, Nabeshima Mitsushige 鍋島光茂 (1632–1700). Son of a concubine, he was adopted by Taku Shigenori 多久茂矩, third lord of Taku, a sub-fief of the main domain, but his early life was spent in Saga, where he is said to have grown up in a “scholarly atmosphere, steeped

119. Ibid., 197.

120. As tutor to Shigefumi, Genrin was certainly involved with Shigefumi’s plans for his own Sage’s Hall in Taku from Genroku 14 (1701); *Bunkyo Sensei gyōjō*, 338.

in Confucian discipline.”¹²¹ He moved to Taku in 1680, at the age of 10 *sai* 歳, and inherited the Taku sub-domain in 1689. There seems little reason to doubt the local tradition that he was a man of studious character who “all his life never allowed a book out of his hands.”¹²² Shigefumi’s rulership is mentioned in the famous 1716 text *Hagakure* 葉隠 (Hidden among leaves) of Yamamoto Tsunetomo 山本常朝 (1669–1719): “Because he was profoundly compassionate, his vassals down to the peasants held him in deep affection (*najimisōraite* 馴染み候て), and at the time of his death the village elders submitted a petition from the villages and one hears that they still mourn him through a ‘Yūzan 雄山 [Shigefumi’s Buddhist name] association (*kō* 講).”¹²³

Through the Saga commoner network already described, Shigefumi became a follower of Nakamura Tekisai, though the two never met.¹²⁴ Given the contemporary interest in Confucianism in Edo and in Saga, however, it was natural that the studious young daimyo should promote Confucianism in his own domain. A school was constructed at the residence of a Confucian doctor, Kawanami Jian 川浪自安 (1635–1719), by the end of 1699.¹²⁵ The

121. Hosokawa, “Taku seibyō no sōyakusha,” 563.

122. *Shigefumi kō fu* 茂文公譜, quoted in *ibid.*, 565. “His character was generous and humane (*kankō jinjo* 寛弘仁恕), he shunned frivolous customs and establish lofty aspirations; he had not the slightest desire for fame, vengery or material goods. From childhood he had a predilection for Confucianism. The domain scholar (士) Sanematsu Ganrin 実松元琳 (normally written 元林; 1639–1726) was summoned to serve as his teacher and he was never remiss in [attendance at] expositions; and during his life he never left a book out of his hands.” For a brief note on Ganrin 実松玩林 (Chisai 致斎; 1639–1726), see Shibata Atsushi, “Nakamura Tekisai,” 89; another informative source is in the *Tsunashige-kō gonenpu*, 654–55; entry for 1700/1xi/27. “He was the son of a peasant, Gonsuke 権助, from Inudō 犬童, who had become blind from smallpox at the age of 7 *sai*. He had become the disciple of blind man’s guild leader (Yamano Kengyō 山野検校) and learnt music. But having a little sight in his left eye, and scorning such a base occupation, at the age of 20, when the leader died, he thereafter studied Confucianism.” In 1691, he had come to the attention of Mitsushige, and had been appointed teacher to his sons Yoshishige and Muneshige. For a fuller record of this remarkable man, see his biography, *Bunkyō Sensei gyōjō*.

123. Hosokawa, “Taku seibyō no sōyakusha,” 565.

124. Shibata Atsushi, “Nakamura Tekisai,” 93.

125. *Taku shishi*, 815. For a biographical note, see *ibid.*, 807–8. Jian was a doctor by profession, but a Confucian by avocation (*Gaii naiju* 外医内儒). He became the first professor at the Tōgen Shōsha; he is said to have regarded the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiao xue* 孝經) as the basis of Confucianism (*Ibid.*, 808). His adopted son was Kawamura Dōgi 道義 (1672–1734), who studied under Nakamura Tekisai in 1699.

Tōgen Shōsha (東原庠舎; also called Tsurushima Shoin 鶴山書院), possessed an imported Chinese statue of Confucius and the four correlates.¹²⁶ In 1700, apparently dissatisfied with this Chinese image because it represented Confucius as an official (*daifu* 大夫) rather than with greater dignity and, at 1 *shaku* 2 *sun*, was too short, Shigefumi commissioned from Tekisai in Kyoto a grandiose image more suitable to his conception of “the King of Culture Universal.” This statue, 2 *shaku* 尺 7 *sun* 寸, on a chair of 2 *shaku* 3 *sun* 6 *bu* 分, was ready in the summer of that year.¹²⁷ In 1701, provision was made for housing it in a temporary shrine at Jian’s school. The image was brought by night, borne by eight coolies from Saga to the daimyo’s mansion with a guard of Confucian scholars including Jian. The next night it was transferred to the school and the following day a congratulatory banquet was held, with lectures by Sanematsu Genrin and Jian and musicians sent out from the main domain.¹²⁸

That day, Shigefumi, “overwhelmed with perfect joy at the thousand rejoicings, ten thousand auspices” occasioned by the safe arrival of the new image, composed his *Bunbyōki* 文廟記.¹²⁹ As a disciple of Tekisai, Shigefumi pursued introspective self-cultivation, writing to his teacher for advice about “something in his nature that he could not overcome.”¹³⁰ His exultation over his shrine, however, is expressed primarily in terms of its political utility and its efficacy in promoting discipline under his rulership. For him, the cult of Confucius seems to have been of the “cosmic ordering” type. He reflected on his responsibility for ruling over a remote, disharmonious, and intractable domain:

An ancient said, “When one sees a shrine (*byōsha* 廟社), one thinks of respect.” This utterance has a profound meaning. When people have a good grasp of the attitude of respect towards shrines, are not unmindful of every thought or mistaken in every action,

126. Shibata Atsushi, “Nakamura Tekisai,” 92; Suzuki Miyao, *Nihon no Kōshi byō*, 17 on acquisition of these five bronze statues from China and installation in Tōgen Shōsha.

127. For the inscription identifying this explicitly as an image of Bunsen’ō and for further details of the image and shrine, see Taku-shi Kyōiku linkai, *Jūyōbunkazai Taku seibyō*, 2; see also fig. E.3. 1 *shaku* = 0.994 foot, 1 *sun* = 1.2 inches, 1 *bu* = 0.12 ins.

128. Taketomi’s celebration of the installation, *Tsuruyama shoin senzaki* 鶴山書院遷座記, is in *NKSS* 6: 145-46; dated 1701/ix/15. For the banquet, *Taku shishi*, 815-16. An independent school was established with Jian’s adopted son in 1718; *ibid.* *Taku shishi*, 738 dates the establishment of the school from that time.

129. The following summary and quotations are taken from the text in *NKSS* 6: 144-5; summary in *Taku shishi*, 816-7.

130. See Tekisai’s essay on “Explanation on the studio of quietness,” in Shibata Atsushi, “Nakamura Tekisai,” 282-83.

and do not for an instant depart from respect, then ten thousand benefits will accrue. They become worthies or sages, and thereby the benefits of the Way of man are complete. If one loses the attitude of respect, one becomes foolish or unlettered (*fushō* 不肖) and has the same tendencies as birds and beasts.

There were 1,560 places in China, the piece continues, where Confucius was worshiped with the “great beast sacrifice on the *hinoto* days of the second month in spring and autumn,” “and the [number of] rural small shrines is beyond reckoning.” That was why in China, the “civil way” flourished, and why “it was not possible to list on paper the [great numbers of] loyal subjects and righteous gentlemen.” Ancient Japan had not been inferior, but this had all been lost in the intervening age. Now the shogun had revived the practice in the eastern military capital. A Taiseiden had been erected in Edo; ceremonies instituted, and feudal princes and their vassals could attend lectures. The six arts flourish, and the sound of reading fills town and country, and “those who previously despised the Sage and berated Confucians shut their mouths and turn to conversion as though afraid of manacles.” The Saga domain surpassed Edo in establishing a shrine and converting [its people]. This would have cosmic effects, and the *kirin* 麒麟 (unicorn), phoenix, turtle and dragon would congregate. Shigefumi himself could not rival the main fief, but he had brought its style to his small domain. He was, in conclusion, afraid that the doltish (*shuntaru* 蠢たる) people of the domain would pollute the honored spirit, but prayed for a spirit intelligence to illumine the land eternally.

Following the arrival of the image, the building of a dedicated building, the Kyōanden (恭安殿) shrine, proceeded slowly. Actual construction was begun in 1705; the total number of workers over the five years was 9,224 men.¹³¹ A specially disciplined regimen was imposed: they were not to quarrel, bet, or commit disorder; not to indulge in “major drinking” nor to shout or sing songs great or small; they were to respect the environment of bamboo grove; and not to use the construction for private advantage.”¹³² Materials were procured from cannibalizing existing religious buildings; 524 timbers were taken from Buddhist temple and shrine estates, together with some 43 dressed foundation stones. By the eighth month of 1708 the building was complete and the transference of the image and a *sekisai* were scheduled.¹³³

The inaugural *sekisai* was performed on 1708/viii/14. The extant directives show that

131. *Taku shishi*, 817-18.

132. *Ibid.*, 818-20.

133. The same year saw the first *sekisai* at the Onimaru Saga Confucian shrine.

it was based closely on the version composed by Nakamura Tekisai in Kyoto and so is structurally of the Zhu Xi retreat type.¹³⁴ Certain significant adjustments are made, however. As with the Okayama domain school ceremony, these move the ceremony from the Zhu Xi “moral empowerment” or ethical action type of Tekisai’s redaction towards the more political “cosmic ordering” and “cultural display” that clearly interested Shigefumi as ruler of a domain. They included the liturgical elevation of Confucius to “Perfect Sage, Former Teacher and King of Culture Universal,” rather than Tekisai’s more intimate “Perfect Sage, Former Teacher Confucius.” The invocation was of the Ming, post Jiajing type, addressing Confucius directly as “Teacher.” The rite was expanded by the inclusion of elements of “social display.” Music and the reading of poetry, contrary to Tekisai’s preferences, were introduced.¹³⁵

Shigefumi’s aspirations to Confucian grandeur were realized. His shrine loomed, and, now an Important Cultural Asset, still looms somewhat gauntly out of the green Kyushu countryside. In it, Tekisai’s resplendent image of Confucius as “King of Culture Universal” presides over the four correlates and, implicitly, the whole world beyond. The iconography of this image displays the Sage’s exalted, imperial status. He is represented majestically seated in gilded splendor on a chair placed within an octagonal feretory (*seigan* 聖龕). On his head he wears a ceremonial crown (C. *mianguan* 冕冠) with a fringe of twelve tassels (*liu* 旒), his dress incised with the emblems of cosmic sovereignty, the twelve “emblematic figures of the ancients,” an imperial prerogative.¹³⁶ But this King of Culture Universal bears an unexpressive face; the “fused incisors” (*pianchi* 駢齒), the usually prominent sign of his sagehood, tactfully reduced to near normality; the hands that hold the apotropaic imperial baton (*zhengui* 鎮圭) look delicate; the mouth bland and inscrutable. The design and motifs

134. For directives, see NKSS 6: 142-44; the invocation cites: “Taku Village chief Fujiwara [name to be supplied] sends his Confucian vassal [name to be supplied] Saga [Taku]: 肥国卿多久邑主 藤原 [実名] 使儒臣 [氏名] 名等司祭事敢昭告於至聖先師文宣王; *ibid.*, 148. Sources are inconsistent on whether Shigefumi was himself present; NKSS 6: 142 and Shibata Atsushi, “Nakamura Tekisai,” 93, claim that Shigefumi was the leading sacrificer at this ceremony; other evidence asserts that he was represented by a proxy (*Taku shishi*, 821); and an official diary stipulates that a proxy, named as Gonbei 権兵衛殿, officiated as the daimyo’s proxy (*gomyōdai* 御名代 (*Taku shishi*, 825, note 13). An “announcement” by Taketomi Rensai is at NKSS 6, 146-47. See also *Taku shishi*, 835 for the view that “it is unclear how this *sekisai* was performed.”

135. NKSS 6: 148.

136. The twelve “emblematic figures of the ancients” on the robes of a Chinese emperor; see *Book of Historical Documents*, CC 3: 80 and *WOC*, illustration 3.1.

derived from work of the Kanō school in Kyoto, the bronze is the work of a Kyoto bronze smith supervised by the famous Confucian scholar Nakamura Tekisai, who had diligently researched the apparel appropriate for representations of the sage.¹³⁷

The shrine imposed onerous costs on his small sub-fief. For the sake of this image and the building that housed it, to borrow the words of Rensai's "Announcement," Taku Shigefumi had "cut into hills, dug into earth, broken rocks, dammed river valleys; courageously fixed his gaze solely on righteousness, begrudged no resources, made his [own] sustenance meagre, worn shabby clothes, but had embellished the phoenix eaves and dragon lintels."¹³⁸ Yet, with some support at times from the main domain, this foreign god has thrived and retained the loyal worship of the Taku community over the centuries. Proudly dressed in Ming-style Chinese clothes they still perform their *sekisai* in honor of the cosmic sage, with dances and music before the same image and in the court before the same wooden shrine.¹³⁹

This was not, however, the first image of Confucius to have been worshipped in this community. Its predecessor, had been a Chinese bronze said to have been a member of a set of five ordered from China and installed in the sub-fief's school some two years earlier, and much smaller at 41cm. It depicted its subject in the pose known as "unoccupied with business" (*yanju* 燕居). But Shigefumi had rejected this image in favor of Nakamura Tekisai's grandiose design and its history was different.¹⁴⁰ Shigefumi's son and successor Shigeaki 茂明 (1693–1739) had designated three households to cultivate paddy at Shiraki within the Taku domain to support the Confucian services at the shrine. With the Restoration, this land became communal property, and the villagers, "converted by their superiors to profound veneration of Confucius" and "unable to forget the past," petitioned for the smaller bronze statue and set up a new shrine. There, in the "Shiraki Seibyō Jinja" of Kishima District, Yamaguchi village, it became their tutelary deity, at times petitioned for favorable rain, and the object of a twice-annual festival still performed. The destinies of the two images might be

137. 'The statue is dated 1700/v (Suzuki, *Nihon no Kōshi byō*, 17). The faintly indicated buck teeth in this image are also iconographically meaningful. Fused incisors (C. *pianchi* 駢齒) were the most easily depicted of the forty-nine special characteristics (*yonjūkyū no isō* 四十九異相) of a sage (Midorikawa, "Sekiten," 2: 216).

138. Taketomi, *Hōei gonen chūshū tei*, 146-47.

139. Hattori Unokichi 服部宇之吉, "Kōshi wo saishin to suru jinja" 孔子を祭神とする神社, reprinted in Suzuki Miyao, *Nihon no Kōshibyō to Kōshizō*, 17-21; for *amagoi* 雨乞い, see *Taku shishi*, 849.

140. For the two images and further details, see *WOC* frontispiece and illustration E.3.

taken to resonate with a polarized and ambivalent reception of Confucius on Japanese soil. On the one hand, he remained a preoccupation of a studious elite; on the other hand, he passed into the “little tradition,” assimilated into indigenous culture.

Hagi

The modesty of the Taku ceremony combined with Taku Shigefumi’s personal commitment and his small domain enabled the cult of Confucius to reach into the community. By contrast, the *tozama* domain of Hagi domain in western Honshū offers the example of a very large domain which, exploiting scale, resources, and remoteness from the center, enjoyed a different success. The cult of Confucius here superficially resembles the Nagoya performances of Tokugawa Yoshinao with which this survey began. Like the latter, it drew extensively on *Engishiki*, and was well resourced. Hagi, however, was a *tozama* domain whose distance from Edo facilitated a tradition of independence from the Tokugawa Bakufu. Close examination of its cult of Confucius will suggest a special political nuance to the ceremony reflecting a subtly ambivalent position within the regime: on one hand, distancing from Tokugawa authority but on the other, drawing on Edo, and particularly Rinke, experience of the rite.

In contrast to Saga, where interest in the cult arose first among commoners, this ceremony and the foundation of the school in which it was sited appear to have been largely driven by the daimyo and domain warrior elite. The domain’s ruler during the early eighteenth century, Mōri Yoshimoto 毛利吉本 (r. 1707–31), was an active administrator and reportedly a student of Hayashi Hōkō in Edo.¹⁴¹ It was said of him that his “greatest concern was the decline of the way of the samurai” in his domain.¹⁴² The top-down perspective of the founders of the domain school and its ceremony were indicated in the preface to a survey of the history of the ritual commissioned from two domain Confucianists, Yamagata Shūnan 周南 (1687–1752) and Sasaki Genroku 佐々木源六 (dates unknown). The task of these men was “to investigate the system of schools, and to take the *Engishiki* as a source; to investigate the systems of the successive dynasties of China and to consult the procedures of learning in the

141. Uno, *Hangaku shidan*, “Chō han,” 80.

142. *Hagi shishi*, 1: 421.

Eastern Capital.”¹⁴³ They found that “the establishment of educational institutions in order to instruct men is the means whereby human relationships are clarified. When human relationships are clarified by superiors, the little people below are renovated.”¹⁴⁴ Their *Sekiten kō* 釈奠考 (Examination of the *sekiten*), dated to the first month of 1719 (the month of the first ceremony at the school) sets out a distinctive case for the ceremony. “With regard to the teacher of emperors and kings over a thousand generations, those who value [Confucius’s] way must honor the man. Accordingly, the *sekisai* ritual cannot but be observed.”¹⁴⁵ Its brief but learned survey of the rite in China is interesting for its emphasis on imperial participation in the rite.¹⁴⁶

Significantly, the account of the historical Japanese ceremony makes no mention of Tsunayoshi’s patronage, merely stating that the system of provincial and the University *sekiten* “did not die out up until the Kanshō 寛正 [period 1460–66]; but after the Ōnin 応仁 [period 1467–69], it was not performed.”¹⁴⁷ In short, the Hagi domain sited its prospective ceremony as inheriting Chinese and ancient Japanese practice and emphasized the imperial background to the history of the rite, rather than emulating Edo. None the less, analysis will show some proximate intellectual and liturgical debt to the Neo-Confucianism of the Edo Rinke tradition.

The Hagi domain school, the Meirinkan 明倫館, was opened in 1719, and was provided with a Sage’s Hall.¹⁴⁸ Its staff, interestingly, was of mixed Confucian sectarian allegiance. The first generation of Confucian scholars, Yamagata Ryōsai 山県良齋 (1648–1728) and Ogura Shōsai 小倉尚齋 (1677–1737) were of Zhu Xi affiliation. However, Shūnan, Ryōsai’s son, had been a Sorai disciple since the age of 19 *sai*, and from his appointment as the second “director” of the Meirinkan in 1737 until the Bakumatsu period, the school was dominated by Sorai scholars.¹⁴⁹ This pluralism and shifting sectarian affiliation is reflected in

143. NKSS 5: 200.

144. Echoing *Mencius* IIIA 3 (x); CC II, p. 242; and *Great Learning*, “The text of Confucius,” 1; CC I; 356.

145. NKSS 6: 114.

146. It noted that Emperors Cheng of the Eastern Jin in 335 and Zhang of the Jin in 1197 had personally sacrificed to Confucius; *ibid.*, 115.

147. *Ibid.*, 116.

148. For a plan of the school, see *Hagi shishi*, 1: 423.

149. Kasai, *Kinsei hankō*, 2: 1282.

the eclectic evolution of the liturgical program in the Hagi domain.¹⁵⁰

The inaugural ceremony, to mark the establishment of the school, was observed on 1719/i/19. The directives attest to an ambitious version, specifying twenty-five different roles

150. The documentation of the Hagi ceremony is extensive but, in some respects, vague. The material in *NKSS* 6: 111-26 appears confused and repetitious. It consists of four sets of directives, together with an introductory summary:

- i. Introductory summary differentiating spring and autumn ceremonies; listing four correlates and six subsidiary venerands (111-12); it claims use of the *Engishiki* provincial *shukubun*, etc. This is late and probably reflects practice at the time of the Restoration. In 1850, a Sorai scholar briefly directed the school, but he is said to have expounded Zhu doctrines (see Kasai, *Kinsei hankō*, 2: 1277-79, 1290).
- ii. *Chūshun sekisai gichū* 仲春稷菜儀註 (112-14); includes the six Song subsidiary venerands; dated by Sudō (*Kinsei Nihon sekiten*, 227) to 1849.
- iii. This set of directives is preceded by “Meirinkan sekiten shiki jo” 明倫館稷奠式序, dated 1719 by Sasaki Genroku and Yamagata Shūnan (114); *Sekiten kō* 稷奠考, surveying the rite in China (115-16); *Honchō sekitenkō* 本朝稷奠考 (116), surveying its history in Japan.
- iv. *Sekisai gichū* 稷菜儀注 (116-19); This seems to represent the opening ceremony of 1719/i/19 (so dated, *Hagi shishi* 1: 425); the daimyo is represented as “first libationer” by a proxy (*gomyōdai* 御名代; 119); it includes an “announcement” (*kokubun* 告文) as was appropriate for the inaugural service at a new school; the “ancient precedent” is invoked that the invocation be read in the *on* (Chinese pronunciation). The liturgy follows *Engishiki*. No text of the invocation is supplied, but it is possible, if it followed that usage of the autumn of the following year, that it used the Ming Hongwu form. If so, this was later changed to the *Engishiki* provincial school version.
- v. *Chūshun sekiten shiki* 仲春稷奠式 (119-23); a more elaborated version of 4 above; retains four correlates; has *gakutō* 学頭, an office created in 1720 and first occupied by Ogura Shōsai (*Hagi shishi*, 1: 426), providing a terminus *post quem*; music; makes allowance for visit of daimyo; refers to *shukubun* as using the “*Shokoku sekisai*” *Engishiki* text (120); and the texts for the welcoming and farewelling of the spirits *geishinshi* and *sōshinshi* as using texts from *Chueli zi*. Use of the formula “In recent years the shrine manager writes” of the welcoming and farewell (120) suggests that this was used over a long period. This may be the pattern to which the rite settled from 1720 until the Bakumatsu period. The *on* reading of the invocation was apparently abandoned at some stage; it is “now no longer so” (121).
- vi. *Chūshū sekisai rei* 仲秋稷菜例 (123-26); identified (119) as following Zhu Xi retreat version; offerings of steamed millet and rice, together with “pure wine” (*seishu* 清酒); the invocation follows Rinke and Hongwu wording; welcoming and bidding farewell words from *Chueli zi*; this is followed by diagrams which seem to refer to 5 above; text of autumn 1720 invocation and of *geishinshi* and *sōshinshi* is supplied (126); list of liturgical officers by name; Ogura Shōsai is identified as “libationer” (*ibid.*).

(116). Abstinence, in both relaxed and strict forms, was required.¹⁵¹ The liturgy itself is subtly eclectic. The basic pattern draws on the *Engishiki*. The ceremony runs through: “offering the banner,” followed by an “announcement” reporting the new school;¹⁵² “advancing the [food] offerings”; “the first libation,” followed by reading of the invocation; “the second libation”; “the final libation”; “receiving the sacrificial wine and the sacrificial food [?viands]”; “removing the offerings”; “observing the burial pit”; and “the lecture.” The text of the invocation is not supplied. But if later practice was followed, it addresses Confucius by the title, “Greatly complete, Perfect Sage, King of Culture Universal” (Taisei shisei bunsen’ō 大成至聖文宣王), following the Yuan, early Ming, and Rinke formula. A note for the 1719 directives adds: “it is an old precedent to read the invocation in the *on*,” suggesting a strong echo from *Engishiki*, and it may well be that the *Engishiki* doxology to Confucius was used from the start.¹⁵³ Adoption of the “four correlates,” however, reflects a Neo-Confucian, rather than ancient, understanding of the transmission of the “Way.”

The ceremony is also modern in its use of post-Jiajing reform wooden tablets for Confucius, Yan Zi, Zheng Zi, Zi Si, and Mencius.¹⁵⁴ The daimyo himself, Mōri Yoshimoto, is said to have had Hayashi Hōkō write the inscriptions on these tablets.¹⁵⁵ These features may have been transmitted through Ogura Shōsai, also a disciple of Hayashi Hōkō. Among the extensive offerings listed are “five hares” and “geese snipe or pheasants,” glossed as “victim substitutes” (*seidai* 牲代), perhaps in deference to post-*Engishiki* aversion to sacrificing four footed animals. Relatively modern also were the use of incense throughout the ceremony, and

151. A three-day abstinence, during which according to ancient precept, “relaxed abstinence”: strictures not to pay condolences or mourn; not to visit the sick; not to listen to music; not to participate in judgments involving punishments; and to avoid polluting matters; strict abstinence: followed by abstinence of one day stipulating participants are required “to stop all activity unconnected with the sacrifice, and to refrain from alcohol and strong smelling vegetables (*kun* 葷)” (Ibid., 117).

152. Compare Inuzuka, *Shōheishi*, 64, where an “announcement” (*kokubun* 告文) is used on the occasion of the opening of the new Shōheizaka shrine in 1691, also read at the offering of the banner phase of the liturgy.

153. Refers to “*on*” readings of *shukubun*, a feature that may relate to the use of contemporary Chinese pronunciation in the Sorai school or to early *Engishiki* influence. However, both the Tekisai directives and the Chen Yuanyun versions had also used Chinese pronunciation.

154. Now kept in the Meirin Primary School; for an illustration, see *Hagi shishi* 1: 427; a view of the Meirinkan is reproduced on 426.

155. Uno Tetsundo, *Hangaku shidan*, “Chō han,” 80; note also that the banner was buried and the invocation burned; rather than as in Edo, where both were burned after the ceremony (Inuzuka, *Shōheishi*, 174).

the use of spoken words to welcome and see off the spirits, derived, according to one version, from the text of the *Queli ji* 關里誌.¹⁵⁶

For this ceremony, the daimyo is represented as “first libationer” by a proxy (*gomyōdai* 御名代). The dress for the libationers appears to be long pantaloons (*nagahakama* 長袴) with the binding of the pantaloons “loosened after entry through the middle gate.”¹⁵⁷ Provision was made for non-specialist liturgical officers to be present: the magistrate for construction (*gosakubugyō* 御作奉行) and manager of the daimyo’s kitchen (*gozenfukashira* 御膳夫頭). Obeisances are apparently made by kneeling (*fuhai* 伏拝). The feudal socio-political context of the performance is acknowledged when the offerings are prepared on the spot for taking to the castle by the first libationer.¹⁵⁸ This is explicitly justified by reference to the ancient presentation of the University offerings to the palace the day following the ancient *sekiten*.¹⁵⁹

At an early stage, the inaugural liturgy summarized above was revised and the number of participants increased with students included.¹⁶⁰ An important sequence of directives prescribes the attendance of the daimyo in the shrine towards the end of the ceremony, following the receiving of the “wine of good fortune.” His duty was to lead the “nourishing of the aged” rite. This brought the ceremony to the broader community of the domain. The daimyo washes his hands in a separate chamber and bows before the altar of Confucius. Returning to the chamber, he holds audiences for the director of the academy and “five old men”; then “thin matting is spread in the court of the shrine, and [the daimyo] meets in audience old men [from among] the peasants and townsmen.”¹⁶¹ One precedent for this sequence may have been the ancient *haibyō*, in which the high nobility had bowed, as the daimyo is here required to do, before the image of the Sage. But the audience with the old people certainly also owes to the *yōrō* rite of the *Liji*. Interestingly, this was a ritual on which commentaries had been written in the Sorai school, and its adoption in Hagi may reflect an

156. Cf. The Taira domain: *NKSS* 6: 48. These are not the regular Hongwu Ming verses. According to notes (*Ibid.*, 111 [prefatory remarks]; and the established version in *Ibid.*, 120), the texts comes from *Chuehli zi*.

157. *Ibid.*, 117.

158. *Ibid.*, 118-19

159. For references, see *WOC* chapter 3, 77-78.

160. *NKSS* 6: 119-23.

161. *Ibid.*, 122.

influence from that quarter.¹⁶²

From 1720, a second, smaller-scale autumn intramural ceremony was introduced. This was explicitly modeled on Zhu's retreat liturgy. Only one libationer, the domain Confucian Ogura Shōsai, officiated, together with some sixteen other participants, including four students.¹⁶³ Confucius was grandiosely worshipped as "Taisei shisei bunsen'ō" (Grandly Complete, Perfect Sage, King of Culture Universal); rather than the more intimate "Former Teacher" (*Senshi* 先師) of Zhu's original, and the four correlates are accorded their full titles of nobility. But in contrast to the spring observance, this autumn rite remained a truly intramural ceremony, for the academic community alone.¹⁶⁴ No music was specified in this first autumn ceremony, though it appears was introduced at a later stage. Yet a striking feature of this modest, "moral empowerment," intramural ceremony was that, in contrast with the Rinke ceremony with which Ogura Shōsai would have been familiar, in Sorai style it did not honour Zhu Xi or his immediate predecessors in the Neo-Confucian "Line of transmission of the Way" (*daotong* 道統).

As the dual sectarian affiliation of the Meirinkan might also suggest, the adoption of significantly different ceremonies for the spring and autumn ceremonies at Hagi might seem to send mixed signals. Yet the annual liturgical cycle served two functions. The two ceremonies were complementary; the spring ceremony was intended to sacralize the daimyo's authority and rulership over his whole domain, including, through the *yōrō* ritual, its commoner element. This was consistent with Sorai's view of the function of ritual. The autumn ceremony, in contrast, was intramural and must have conferred a sense of identity and empowerment on the Confucian scholars of the domain school, who were men of no very high formal status within the feudal community.

162. Irie Nanmei 入江南溟 (1682–1769); Akita native, student of Sorai, author of *Daigaku yōrōkai*; for the canonical source, see "Wen wang shizi" 文王世子, *Li chi*, 1: 359–61; *Raiki* 1: 350; "Wang zhi" 王制, *Li chi*, 1: 240–44; *Raiki* 1: 381–87.

163. Those participating on the first occasion are named. *NKSS* 6: 126.

164. The Ming Hongwu invocation was employed. The agency of the ceremony is cited as Ogura and the offerings are made in his name alone, rather than the daimyo's. Abstinence is indicated by the formula "before the day of the sacrifice, in accordance with precedent, abstinence, rehearsal and cleaning of the spirit hall [are undertaken]." (*Ibid.*, 123]. Also employed were verses "welcoming the spirits" and "seeing off the spirits."

A further important feature of the Hagi whole ceremonial cycle lay in the wording of the invocation of the spring ceremony, conjectured above to have been based on the provincial *Engishiki*:

In such and such a year of such and such a year period, in the second month the first *ding* day, the provincial lord of the two provinces of Bōshū and Chōshū 防長二州国主 the court minister Ōe 大江 of such and such a rank, by name so and so, dares to make clarion announcement to the Complete and Perfect Sage, the King of Culture Universal.¹⁶⁵

Here, not only does the *Engishiki* wording of the announcement and following doxology evoke an ancient order; also resonant of an ancient, pre-Tokugawa, order is the use of the Ōe 大江 surname for the Mōri daimyo.¹⁶⁶ Daimyo commonly claimed ancient *uji* 氏 names and court titles such as *ason* 朝臣 (imperial court minister) for formal purposes. Compared with the “clan” name of “Minamoto” frequently adopted by many daimyo, however, the name “Ōe” had special resonance. It carried complex historical associations. Ōe was an ancient and prestigious courtly lineage from whom the Mōri claimed descent. True, Ōe no Hiromoto 大江 広元 (1148–1225) had collaborated with Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1145–99) and the Hōjō 北条 regents to play an important historical role in constructing the institutions of Japan’s first warrior regime in the late twelfth century. But his great-grand father was Ōe no Masafusa 大江 匡房 (1041–1111), a prominent courtier, scholar of Chinese, and poet, author of the *Gōke shidai* 江家次第, a handbook of court ceremonial regarded as authoritative source for the history of the rite in ancient Japan. This was a lineage older than the warrior regimes.¹⁶⁷ The Mōri retained a strong consciousness of their original association with the imperial court. One is reminded of the tradition that the Mōri “observed an annual anti-

165. Ibid., 111.

166. The related Mōri daimyo of Tokuyama domain (*tozama*; 40,000 *koku*), also used the Ōe name in their invocation, together with their court rank (fifth, lower); NKSS 7: 129.

167. The title of “provincial lord” used in the invocation was an equivalent of *kunimochi* 国持 (the term for a daimyo holder of more than one province), but it may not be fanciful to suggest that here its resonances may have been ambiguous. Employed, as here, in the context of the language of the *Engishiki*, it perhaps resonated with the homophonous *kokushu* 国守, an alternative name for provincial governor under the ancient, pre-feudal Japanese state. Compare the Tottori domain invocation of 1855, NKSS 6: 99.

Tokugawa ritual” in their Hagi castle, “considered one of the most important rituals of the *han*.”¹⁶⁸ According to an early twentieth-century historian, the Mōri’s “feelings of longing for the imperial city were almost those of a distant traveler longing for home, feelings incomparably greater than those of the ordinary warrior of a military house.”¹⁶⁹ Analysis of the archaizing nuances of the Hagi spring ceremony and the lineage claimed by its daimyo has found resonances with pre-military society and a period predating the Tokugawa hegemony. The scale of the ceremony asserted the standing of the Hagi domain as a quasi-independent polity. Yet this was by no means a call to secession from the Tokugawa settlement. Rather, it was a subtle distancing from the Tokugawa hegemony, an act of distinctive historical self-definition.¹⁷⁰

The Hagi *sekiten* was admired in the contemporary world. Ogyū Sorai referred positively in his *Seidan* of ca. 1725 to the *sekisai* in the domain school in the Mōri 毛利 domain of Hagi.¹⁷¹ His eulogy of Shūnan’s father Ryōsai 良齋 (1648–1728) on the occasion of his 80th birthday (1727) concludes with verses extolling the shrine and its students “dressed in blue” for the *sekiten* rite.¹⁷² The shrine and its ceremonies were to be held up as exemplary by the Kumamoto Confucian Nakayama Shōrei 中山昌礼 (Mokusai 默齋; 1762–1815) in a memorial of the Kansei 寛政 period (1789–1801).¹⁷³

168. Craig, *Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration*, 21

169. Quoted in *ibid.*, 24.

170. In addition to the main domain school, the ceremony was observed in three vassal branch fief *gōkō*, those of: Shishido 宍戸 founded 1809 (*ibid.*, 6: 127), Urayukie 浦鞠負 founded in the Tenpō period (1830–44; *ibid.*, 128); and Mōri 毛利, (invocation extant for 1864; *ibid.*, 127–28). The ceremony was also performed in a school in Yamaguchi, the Kōjō Meirinkan 鴻城明倫館 (Kasai, *Kinsei hankō ni okeru gakutō*, 2: 1293) and, from 1841, in the domain’s Edo Sakurada mansion (*ibid.*, 1291). The Hagi *sekiten* was admired in the contemporary world. Ogyū Sorai referred positively in his *Seidan* of ca. 1725 to the *sekisai* in the domain school in the Mōri 毛利 domain of Hagi.

171. *NST* 36, 442.

172. See Ogyū, *Sorai shū*, 94–95.

173. Nakayama Shōrei 中山昌礼 (Mokusai 默齋; 1762–1815); Kasai, *Kinsei hankō ni okeru gakutō*, 2: 1740), a scholar of the Kimon Shushigaku school who became a prefect (*jukuchō* 塾長) in the Jishūkan in his “late years,” clearly laments the absence of a Seidō (Sage’s Hall). His *Gakusei kō* 学政考 is dated by Dore (*Education in Tokugawa Japan*, 205) to “about 1790.” He compares the lack of *sekiten* and of the *yōrō* rite in Kumamoto unfavourably with Nagato (sc. Hagi).

Conclusion

This necessarily exploratory survey of early Tokugawa daimyo attempts to establish a cult of Confucius serves two ends. First, it suggests the main challenges and constraints experienced by late feudal provincial rulers in promoting the cult in their domains. Secondly, in the context of a regime in which a dialectic pertained between central feudal authority and provincial rulers, it suggests ways in which influences passed in both directions between the provinces and the center of power in Edo.

The sample of attempts to establish the *sekiten* in the early Tokugawa period up to the Kyōhō period is small, yet both their variety and, with the exception of Hagi and Taku, their lack of sustained success is striking. This variety suggests fluidity in intellectual and cultural life in the period as men sought to identify acceptable ideological and religious structures that would stabilize and guide their exercise of authority after the anarchic tendencies of the Warring States period. Strikingly, in contrast to the situation in the Sinitic kingdoms, there was no attempt from the center of power to control the veneration of Confucius. Rather, in the freedom allowed by central authority to provincial rulers, choices in the provinces were constrained by financial, security, political, religious, cultural, societal and even foreign diplomatic circumstances, by disjunction between a daimyo and his heir, and more generally by the quality of leadership. The scale of the feudal community may also have been an influential factor; it is striking that the two most successful ceremonies were staged in respectively one of the largest and one of the smallest domains, Hagi and Taku. Yet another potential constraint, in the absence of the explicitly imperial authority and *ritsuryō* political structures that had authorized the ceremony in the ancient period, was the question of the legitimacy of the ceremony in the late feudal world.

First, financial limitations are mentioned in almost all discussions of the *sekiten/sekisai* in the period under review. Two exceptions were the large domains of Nagoya during its rule by a privileged son of the regime's founding warlord, and Hagi, a large domain remote from the eastern center of the regime, where an elaborate ritual cycle showed that the cult of Confucius could legitimate a paternalistic regime. In Yonezawa, financial pressure may have been the real cause for the suspension of the ceremony in 1724. It was cited by Ikeda Tsunamasa as the reason for reducing his father's expenditure on education, and Zhu Shunshui could refer to crop failure as a reason for Tokugawa Mitsukuni's abandonment of the rehearsal project. In itself, however, having insufficient funds is seldom a wholly

convincing cause for the relative failure of the Confucian project. The great lengths to which the small Taku domain went to build its shrine and stage the ceremony suggest that where there was a will there could also be a way. Nor, evidently, was finance perceived as a problem at Hagi.

With regard to other possible constraints, Tokugawa Yoshinao's privileged position as the son of the founding warlord and ruler of a large domain set him apart. The causes of the failure of his project in Nagoya to survive after his death requires further research, but circumstantially, the political climate around 1650 in particular was not favorable to the ceremony. His own political caution in adopting a largely provincial revival of the *Engishiki* version of the ceremony reflects his delicate position as an able cadet member of the ruling kindred. It may be significant that Yoshinao's death was followed only a year later by the tension within the Bakufu following the death of his nephew, the third shogun Iemitsu. Here was a case, also, in which provincial developments could have influenced attitudes to Confucianism among wielders of power at the center in Edo. The ensuing samurai revolts and attempts by the Rinke to incriminate *Shingaku* Confucians and the Bakufu intervention to suppress group study of Confucianism in Okayama may well have colored attitudes to Confucianism and the ceremony among the Edo elite. The condemnation of Matsudaira Nobutsuna and others, men in personal contact with the Rinke, may well have confirmed their tendency to develop the ceremony as a safely apolitical one of "cultural display."

Indeed, political and security considerations, compounded by disjunction between father and inheriting son, clearly lie behind the failure of Ikeda Mitsumasa, the most passionate and most persistent of the Confucian-minded daimyo. As indicated in his well-known *Gantan shihitsu*, Mitsumasa saw his own life as a Confucian mission. His life as a ruler can be seen as a journey through the varied Confucianisms of his age. In response to Bakufu intervention, Mitsumasa passed from the subjectivism of *Shingaku* to the more authoritarian style associated with objective Zhu Xi Neo-Confucianism. The final years of his rule over Okayama saw a sustained attempt to convert the domain to Confucianism, which once more aroused Bakufu unease. But Mitsumasa failed to persuade his feudal colleagues and, most crucially, his son and heir Tsunamasa, of the rightness, urgency, benefits, and justice of his beliefs. Moreover, as product of Edo culture, Tsunamasa is likely to have been acquainted with the safely unthreatening and largely depoliticized Rinke "cultural display" ceremony. If Mitsumasa's adversity in 1654 might have influenced the development of the

Rinke ceremony in Edo towards “cultural display,” that development in turn, in another twist of dialectic, seems likely to have influenced Okayama practice some three decades later

In Aizu, Hoshina Masayuki, strongly attracted to Zhu Xi Neo-Confucianism but resorting to a syncretic Shinto-Confucian theology, exemplifies religious and ideological pressure militating against establishment of a ritual cult of Confucius. Locally based syncretism of Shinto with Confucianism created by Yamazaki Ansai appeared to offer an adequate vehicle for valorizing Confucian moral values; at the same time and more usefully, its theology could legitimate sacralization of the domain’s ruling dynasty’s title to power and position in the Tokugawa kindred. While he embraced Confucian moral imperatives, Masayuki selected Shinto ritual for his own burial. In Confucian terms, however, this construction resulted in the dilution of Confucian universalism. Hoshina Masayuki’s preference for indigenous Shinto-Confucian syncretic sources of legitimation required negotiation with the Bakufu. This was eventually forthcoming and proved proleptic; it would be echoed by Matsudaira Sadanobu in his own domain and anticipated the later development of the Mito school and the early Meiji government’s ultimate rejection of the cult of Confucius.

Tokugawa Mitsukuni was a liminal figure, both a provincial ruler and closely associated with the ruling dynasty. His rehearsals of the *sekiten* were conducted in Edo, but encountered the problem of how to relate the centralized bureaucratic model of the polity on which the ceremony was premised to the circumstances of feudal and still militarized Japan. Mitsukuni recognized the profound incompatibility between the hereditary military order of his own society and the Confucian model. Though he was clearly deeply attracted by cultural and moral aspects of the teaching, the impracticability and danger that he saw in Confucian education and in the ceremony persuaded him to reject both. To what extent his rejection of Confucian schooling and the *sekiten* was immediately a disincentive to others is hard to know. It clearly did not impress his cousin, the fifth shogun. In the long term, however, it was influential: his domain only established a domain school finally in 1857, and the ideology with which the school is associated consigned Confucius to an ancillary position in its theology and school ritual.

The flamboyant patronage of the cult of Confucius by the fifth shogun, Tsunayoshi, might seem to have countered the effect of Mitsukuni’s rejection. Indeed, Tsunayoshi’s patronage was welcomed by Confucians, albeit with qualification, as far away as Kyushu. But Tsunayoshi had not addressed the fundamental structural problems identified by Mitsukuni;

his ostentation concealed a superficial understanding of the tradition. His rule was unpopular and his patronage of the *sekisai* was ill sustained and suspected of ulterior motives. It featured “cultural display” and even, in his rumored quest for an heir, regressively, “appeasement” and “magic.” Hakuseki’s attempt to exploit the ceremony to enhance his monarchical ambitions for the Tokugawa shogunate was narrowly political and probably had little impact in the provinces. But the patronage of the fifth and sixth shoguns had, in effect, detoxified the *sekiten*; at the same time, however, it had also consolidated the tendency of the Rinke to emphasise the ceremony as “cultural display.” Against the background of what historians call *bunchi seiji* 文治政治 (civil administrative politics) there was a modest spike of inaugurations of *seiten/sekisai* from Genroku. The Yonezawa inauguration of the ceremony, a deferential clone it might be said, of Tsunayoshi’s, reflects the “replication of the center” motif in East Asian and Japanese political development. However, it encountered financial problems and did not long succeed.

The cost-cutting derogation of the ceremony of the eighth shogun, Yoshimune, can be regarded as consolidation of the financial difficulties involved with establishing the ceremony claimed by his predecessors and contemporaries. Financial difficulties grew in importance as the period wore on, and were surely compounded in the provinces during the period from mid-Kyōhō to 1771 by such variables as weak leadership from the center, individual daimyo disinclination, relations with the Bakufu, and local cultural and religious traditions.

Such were the influences, pressures, and constraints around the ceremony suggested by the experiences of daimyo during the first 170 years or so of the Tokugawa regime. Overarching, but shifting and breaking in places here and there like a mist, was the dominant military ethos among samurai and the cultural dissonance with Confucianism that accompanied it. Warrior particularistic loyalties were privileged over Confucian universalism. Kate Nakai’s claim that to live a Confucian life was “like walking a tightrope” bears reiteration here.¹⁷⁴ Or, as Matsudaira Nobutsuna put it: “Rather than hear about the *Four Books* and *Six Classics*, to listen to someone who knows the regulations of his house over the generations will result in ‘personal good’ (*mi no toku* 身の徳) in the immediate term.”¹⁷⁵ The protest of a vassal of Ikeda Mitsumasa that Confucian learning was “useless” retained some

174. Nakai, “The naturalization of Confucianism,” 159.

175. Watanabe, *Kinsei daimyō*, 73.

purchase through the period.¹⁷⁶ Along with financial constraints, this cultural inhibition or prejudice accounts for the slow rate of foundation of schools and inauguration of the rite to venerate Confucius. It took courage, a firm sense of purpose, or perhaps eccentricity as at Taku, to overcome this cultural circumstance.

With the An'ei 安永 period (1772–81), however, the national climate began to change yet again and interest in Confucianism in the provinces grew. Faced with natural disasters and the growing complexity of administration, a serious need was felt for education; the foundation of schools accelerated. Hitherto a minority concern, from this time the ceremony underwent unprecedented diffusion on the archipelago. The changing climate is symbolized by another group of four “enlightened lords” who emerged during the final decades of the eighteenth century as successors to the early Tokugawa group mentioned above. In contrast to their predecessors, three of the four in this second group appear to have embraced regular *sekiten* in their domain schools: Uesugi Harunori 上杉治憲 (1751–1822) of Yonezawa [150,000 *koku*], Kyōjōkan 興譲館; Tokugawa Harusada 徳川治貞 (1728–89) of Wakayama [555,000 *koku*], Gakushūkan 学習館; and Satake Yoshimasa 佐竹義和 (1775–1815) of Akita [205,800 *koku*], Meitokukan 明德館. But a fourth, Hosokawa Shigekata 細川重賢 (1720–85) of Kumamoto [540,000 *koku*], Jishūkan 時習館, unusually for a major domain, held back. Despite signal achievements in a domain education still reliant on Confucianism for much of its philosophy of education, Kumamoto saw no pressing need for the ceremony.¹⁷⁷ Collectively, therefore, despite the rising interest in Confucian education, the response of provincial feudal authority to the cult of Confucius remained ambivalent and inconsistent during the period up until 1771. None the less, once more, a dialectic between provinces and the center would kick in. When the dialectic revived from the 1790s, the revitalization and reform of the metropolitan ceremony would draw on energetic provincial interest in Confucianism.

176. Ikeda Mitsumasa *nikki*, Keian 4/[1651]/i/16, 41.

177. For Yonezawa, see Sudō, *Kinsei Nihon sekiten*, 191–213; for Wakayama, *NKSS* vol. 2, 824, 831, vol. 6 134–36; for Akita, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 863; vol. 6, 67–74; for the problem of the *sekiten* in Kumamoto see chapter 11: “The first phase reviewed: instability and testing.”

Abbreviations

- 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.
- KT* Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美, ed. [*Shintei zōho*] *Kokushi taiki* [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.
- NKSS* Monbushō 文部省, comp. *Nihon kyōiku shi shiryō* 日本教育史資料. 10 vols. Fuzan Bō, 1890–92.
- 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 taiki* 日本思想体系. 67 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1970–present.
- 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.
- 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.
- WOC* McMullen, James. *The Worship of Confucius in Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020.

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- . *Shūgi gaisho*. In *Zōtei Banzan zenshū*, vol. 2.
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APPENDIX 7(a)

Korea

The introductory phase of the history of the *shidian* (K: *sŏkchŏn* 稷奠) in Korea followed something of the ancient Japanese pattern. However, with the foundation of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910), it developed sharply away from the Japanese practice, with which it then forms an instructive contrast. Where in Japan the ceremony came implicitly to be treated as potentially subversive to the power structure of the oligarchic state, the Koreans used it to build up and stabilize their monarchical and bureaucratic system. Performance of the *sŏkchŏn* became a symbol of national pride, not least in relations with Japan.

Koreans had been introduced to the ceremony as early as the Tang dynasty in China and Silla dynasty (57 BC–935 CE) in Korea when in 648 a Korean mission observed the ceremony in the Tang capital.¹ A state academy was founded in 682 in the Silla capital of Kyŏngju and an order to install pictures of Confucius and the seventy-two disciples was issued in 717.² In 765, a royal progress to the academy took place, and it is reasonable to assume that, by this time, the *sŏkchŏn* was already established, probably based on Tang practice.³ During the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392), Korea acknowledged a tributary relationship to the successive Five Dynasties of China (907–960) and to the Song dynasty (960–1279).⁴ Government institutions, including a Chinese style academy (Kukchahak 国子学 or Sŏnggyun'gwan 成均館) in 992, and examination system to recruit officials, were

1. See Satō “Chōsen ni okeru Kōshi sai,” part 1, 19

2. *Silla ki* 新羅紀, quoted in *ibid.*, part 1, 20.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Reischauer, *The Great Tradition*, 423.

initially modelled on those of Tang. Geographical proximity enabled the Koreans to keep their Confucian cult up to date with Chinese developments. While detailed directives for monarchical participation in a full *sŏkchŏn* do not survive, indirect evidence suggests that at some stage a *suovetaurilia* “great beast” (K: *T’aeroe* 太牢) ceremony was performed during the Koryŏ period, for the omission of the ox from the victims in 1351 was recorded in the dynastic history.⁵ However, detailed directives for two smaller-scale ceremonies, a school viewing rite with libation and a *sŏkchŏn*, are preserved in the *Koryŏsa* 高麗史 under the heading of *Munsŏn Wang myo* 文宣王廟 ([Rituals at] the Shrine of the King of Culture Universal). Directives for provincial ceremonies are also preserved in the *Koryŏsa*. The liturgical details of these ceremonies suggest Song influence, particularly from the important *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* 政和五禮新儀 compiled by Zheng Juzhong 鄭居中 (1059–1123) during the Zhenghe period (1111–17) under the Northern Song emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1099–1123).⁶

First mentioned in the *Koryŏ sa* is the “school viewing and libation rite” *Sihak chakhŏnŭi* 視學酌獻儀 (Ceremonies of school viewing and libation), whose title echoes that of its Song counterpart, *Huangdi shixue zhuoxian Wenxuanwang yi* 皇帝視學酌獻文宣王儀.⁷ This was a monarchical ceremony, requiring the participation of the Korean king (*wang* 王) and the attendance of the crown prince Crown Prince *wangt’aeja* 王太子, the *chaesin* 宰臣 (Prime Minister), *ch’umil* 樞密 (members of the Security Council) and below; liturgical roles are also taken by the *t’aesanghyang* 太常卿 (Chamberlain for Ceremonials) and others of his department.

This, clearly, was a major ritual occasion with active liturgical participation by senior members of the body politic. As such, it already diverges from Japanese practice and has no counterpart documented in ancient Japan. Following Song usage, the Korean ceremony includes a preliminary religious sequence not found in the *Da Tang Kaiyuan li* viewing rite. Preceding the viewing itself, offerings of dried deer meat and deer mincemeat are placed at the altar, incense is burned. In the brief ceremony itself, libation is “placed” (*chŏn* 奠) by the monarch himself on the altar of Confucius, a verb not used in the Song directives and

5. Chŏng, *Koryŏ sa*, *kwŏn* 62, 2: 344; notice for 1351.

6. Text in Zheng, *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*, *juan* 120.

7. Chŏng, *Koryŏ sa*, *kwŏn* 62, 2: 339–40; Zheng, *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*, 120:1b–4b.

possibly intended to raise the dignity of this ceremony.⁸ Thereafter, other officers make oblations to the correlates and secondary venerands. The act of libation to Confucius himself, however, is performed by the Korean king alone. This monarchical liturgical gesture along with single offerings by Chinese emperors in the Song and Ming dynasties, may have been in the mind of Arai Hakuseki when he drew up directives for the participation in the ceremony of the sixth Tokugawa shogun Ienobu (r. 1709–12) in 1710.⁹ The Koryŏ “school viewing” sequence also features a lecture on the canon and the “granting of tea” to the assembled grantees and academic community.¹⁰

No separate crown prince’s *sŏkchŏn* is included among the extant Koryŏ directives. The second ceremony of which detailed directives are extant from the Koryŏ period, the intramural twice annual, is entitled *Chung ch’un Chung chu sangjeong sŏkchŏn ui* 仲春仲秋上丁稷奠儀 (*Sŏkchŏn* ceremony for the first *ding* days of the mid-spring and mid-autumn [months]).¹¹ This resembles the *mimeisai* of ancient Japan, though, unlike its Japanese counterpart, it includes the offerings of fur and blood. Otherwise, it is similarly staffed by the academic officers of the government school, by the rector of the school, the *kukcha cheju* 國子祭酒 as first libationer, the Director of Studies *saop* 司業 as second, and the scholars *paksa* 博士 as third. The ceremony sacrifices a pig to Confucius, rather than the sheep and pig of the equivalent Song rite; it is possible that this lesser scale implicitly acknowledges Koryŏ’s subordinate position in the East Asian international and tributary order.¹² None the less, the commissioning agency of the rite is autonomously Korean; the invocation begins: “The king of the state of Koryŏ, King such and such” (*Koryŏ kukwang wang mo* 高麗國王王某) respectfully sends officer so and so, by surname and given name so and so . . .”¹³ The

8. Ibid., 340.

9. See *WOC* chapter 11, subsection: “The Sixth Shogun and Arai Hakuseki.”

10. Chŏng, *Koryŏ sa, kwŏn* 62, 2: 340.

11. Ibid., 340–44.

12. This seems to have changed later, for the *Koryŏ sa* noted omission of the “ox” at the *sŏkchŏn*) as a humiliation at the autumn rite 1351: *ibid.*, 344 and see below. The Tang *Kaiyuan li* prescribed the full *tailao* set of victims for the intramural *Guozijian* rite; *Dai Tō Kaigen rei*, 54: 3a, 299.

13. Chŏng, *Koryŏ sa, kwŏn* 62, 2: 339.

music is up to date, following Song choices; and civil and martial dances are included.¹⁴ How closely the performances actually followed these directives is, as ever with this kind of material, unclear. Thus in 1040 the Korean king Jongjong 靖宗 (r. 1034–46) is said to have prohibited flesh offerings presumably on the Buddhistic grounds of his “love of the living.”¹⁵

During the long Koryŏ period, the practice of adopting indigenous Korean Confucians as “secondary venerands” was also initiated. So honored were: Sŏl Ch’ong 薛聰 (fl. ca. 7th; enshrined 1022); Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn 崔致遠 (857–ca. 910; enshrined 1020); An Hyang 安珣 (1243–1306; enshrined 1339).¹⁶ These were early instances of the localism that that was to be a recurring motif in the Confucian cult throughout its premodern history in Korea, in Vietnam, and ultimately in Japan, as well as in China itself. In Korea, the makeup of the list of secondary venerands was to become a matter of intense debate, reflecting the factional character of Korean Confucianism.¹⁷

A high point of the Koryŏ story of the ceremony was recorded in the autumn of 1115; King Yejong 睿宗 (r. 1105–1122) made a progress to the Kukhak 国学 where he made a libation to the Former Sage and Former Teacher. “In the lecture hall, he had the Hanim 翰林 Scholar Pak Sŭngchung 朴昇中, Provisional Rector *Ch’adae sasŏng* 偕大司成, lecture on the ‘three chapters of the *Charge to Yue* 說命三篇.’¹⁸ Of the hundred officers and students more than 700 [sic] stood in the court and listened to the lecture. They each submitted songs and poems of praise. The royal poem was displayed to left and right and each [person in attendance] was ordered to compose in response.”¹⁹ Though the cultural element of versification resembles the composition of *sekiten shi* (*sekiten* verses) in the *haibyō* sequence

14. For example, for the opening music as the ceremony begins: *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* (juan 121/5b; Chŏng, *Koryŏ sa, kwŏn* 62, 2: 342: *Ŭng’an jia kok* 凝安之樂曲 contrast with *Kaiyuan li*’s *Yonghe zhi yue* 永和之樂 (*Dai Tō Kaigen li*, 54:5b, 300; comments by Iyanaga, “Kodai no sekiten ni tsuite,” 452). The stages of the rite follow this sequence: banner to Confucius and Yan Hui; fur and blood placed before two principal altars; oblations made; fur and blood removed; rector offers goblet; invocation read; meanwhile subsidiary offerings in wings are made; offering to Yan hui; invocation; then drinking of sacred wine; second and third libation; distribution of oblations; burial of banner; egress; burning of invocation.

15. Miyake, “Nihon kodai no dainagi,” 6.

16. Satō, “Chōsen ni okeru Kōshi sai,” part 1, 21.

17. A further fifteen Korean Confucians were enshrined during the Chosŏn Dynasty. Satō, *ibid.*, part 3, 54; Palmer, *Confucian Rituals*, 63–88 supplies biographical notes.

18. Legge tr. *CC* 3: 248–63.

19. Chŏng, *Koryŏ sa, kwŏn* 62, 2: 344.

in the Heian period, the active liturgical participation of the Korean monarch sets the Korean ceremony well apart from its Japanese counterpart.

From the late twelfth century Korean government became militarized in a phase of history that has been compared with the exertion of power by “essentially private military pressure groups” of shogunal regimes in Japan.²⁰ From the mid-thirteenth, the Mongols exerted control over Korean government. As in contemporary Japan, Buddhism and “spirit worship” competed. Against this background, the ceremony underwent decline not dissimilar to that of the Japanese ceremony in the late Heian period. As the Confucian scholar An Hyang 安珦 (1243–1306) could write:

Incense and lanterns everywhere all venerate the Buddha,
Pipes and flutes in every house serve the [ancestral] spirits,
Isolated, the several chambers of Confucius’ shrine,
Its court full of spring weeds, are desolate, unfrequented by men.²¹

In 1351, the autumn ceremony was recorded as a Korean national humiliation, a derogation of the ritual, presumably on account of Mongol interference. The invocation was not signed by the king, and “[the indigenous venerands] Sŏl Ch’ong and Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn were eliminated and received no offering. Originally, the sacrifices had been one ox and one sheep, but the ox was rejected and two sheep used.”²² A nadir was reached in the autumn of 1363, when “not one of the doctors and below attended; only one each from the doctors of the canon and the *hakyu* 学諭 (?preceptor in learning) [was present].”²³

The waning of Mongol influence over Korea in the second half of the fourteenth century and the Ming conquest of China provided an opportunity to recover a degree of political independence. The ceremony was both symbol and vehicle for this movement; a proper performance of the ceremony was a symbol of national recovery. A prominent agent of revival was the Finance Commissioner (*Samsa usa* 三司右使) Yi Saek 李穡 (1328–1396), a man described as “the influential teacher of all those who helped build the intellectual

20. Reischauer, *East Asia: The Great Tradition*, 423; cf. Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation*, 16.

21. Quoted in Satō, “Chōsen ni okeru Kōshi sai,” part 2: 42.

22. Chōng, *Koryŏ sa*, *kwŏn* 62, 2: 344.

23. Ibid.

foundation of the Chosŏn dynasty.”²⁴ One year after the foundation of the Ming dynasty in China, in 1369, Yi Saek investigated the lapse of Confucian ceremonies with a view to revival. He selected students to participate and “when they had rehearsed for three days, the [proper] form of the rite was displayed.” In 1373, five years after the foundation of the Ming dynasty, the evidently lapsed intramural *sŏkchae* 稷采 (J. *sekisai*) of the first day of the month and mid-monthly observances was revived.²⁵

The Chosŏn dynasty (founded 1392) impressively consolidated this commitment to Confucianism. It inaugurated one of the most intensively Confucian political orders in East Asian history. As Martina Deuchler expresses it: “Nowhere in East Asia . . . was the recreation of the institutions of Chinese antiquity more compelling than in Korea.”²⁶ The scholar officials of the new regime attempted nothing less than the socio-political reorganization of Korea along canonical Confucian lines. This project was to take Korean society, which in earlier history had some resemblances to that of Japan, far from its insular neighbor. Much of the effort concentrated on family rituals, such as kinship regulations and mourning. But the systematic updating, elaboration and re-invigoration of the official state sacrificial cult of Confucius was also an important aspect of the movement. In this respect, once more, the Korean ceremony carried quite different political nuances from those it had for many Japanese.

The main source for liturgical details of the Chosŏn Dynasty Korean cult of Confucius is the *Kukcho oryeŭi* 本朝五礼儀 (Manual of the Five State Rites), compiled by Sin Sukchu 申叔舟 (1417–75), a text known among Japanese Tokugawa period Confucians.²⁷ The title of the work and much of its liturgical detail echo that of Zheng Juzhong’s *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*, already mentioned as an influence on the Koryŏ versions of the cult. It was even more up to date than the Koryŏ version, however, in employing the increased number of “four bows” (*sapae* 四拜) decreed in the first years of the Ming dynasty

24. Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation*, 20.

25. Chŏng, *Koryŏ sa*, *kwŏn* 62, 2: 344.

26. Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation*, 26.

27. Deuchler, writes of this work: “The Five Rites (*orye*) of King Sejong were finished in 1451 . . . They provided the basis for the first official manual of state rituals, the *Kukcho oryeŭi* (Manual of the Five State Rites), which was completed under the supervision of Sin Suk-chu in 1474. As Kang Hŭi-maeng stated in his preface to this work, its principal source was the *T’ung-tien* [Tong dian 通典, 200 *juan* ; compiled by Du You 杜佑 (735–812)].” The text was supplemented in 1744 and 1751; *The Confucian Transformation*, 119 and 349 n120.

for state rituals.²⁸ This text contains no fewer than nine sets of directives relating to the official cult of Confucius, making it probably the most elaborate and comprehensive set of directives extant from pre-modern East Asia.²⁹ It remains testimony to the importance of the religious cult of Confucius on the peninsula. A sketch of this ritual program provides a contrast with the far thinner cult of Confucius in contemporary Japan.

Of these rituals, four involved the Korean monarch or his heir, or both. The extensive involvement of the royal lineage, particularly, for instance, the epiphanic joint appearance of king and crown prince, both wearing royal apparel at the grandest of these rituals, suggests that the ritual had importance in legitimating royal successions. First-mentioned and indeed the grandest among the ceremonies was the *Hyang Munsŏnwang sihakŭi* 享文宣王視學儀 (Ceremony of offerings to the King of Culture Universal and School Viewing) with music and dance. This text provides comprehensive directives for the monarch's participation and is worth summarizing for the contrast that it provides with Japanese practice.³⁰ Offerings consist of "boxes" (*gap* 匣) containing ox, sheep, and pig, underscoring the dignity of this version of the ceremony.³¹ After the king's arrival wearing royal apparel through the main gate, the rite begins and ends with exchange of the four bows between the monarch, those in positions, and the students. In other respects, the participation of the monarch required liturgical adaptation: it seems that he must not be overworked. The Sovereign [monarch, king] under guidance takes a mace; washes his hands; dries them; in his presence, three puffs of incense are offered. At this point the king plays his first liturgical role. He is invited to make the first libation, to "hold and offer the goblet" (*jipchak hŏnchak* 執爵獻爵).³² He then passes them to the relevant "officer for placing the offerings," who puts the goblet on the altar; the king holds his baton, bows, then genuflects as the invocation is read.³³

28. This affected "major" and "middle" state rituals; *Ming shi*, 'Li zhi' 明史, 礼志、共武七 [1374], quoted in Morohashi, *Dai Kanwa jiten*, 4682/626.

29. A slightly variant list is given by Satō, "Chōsen ni okeru Kōshi sai," part 3: 51.

30. Sin, *Kukcho orye ūi*, 2: 29b- 42a, 87-93.

31. Ibid., 2: 35b, 90: the term *hwak* 鑊 (large basin) is used in addition to *gap* for the ox. It is not clear whether this was thought of as a "great beast" ceremony. This ceremony appears to have been reclassified as a *sokchae* 糗菜 in 1740; *Chŭngbo munhŏn bigo* 205: 6a-b, 3: 390.

32. Sin, *Kukcho orye ūi*, 2: 36b, 90: The operative verb is surely *hŏn* 獻 (offer); this is evidently perceived as the act of offering.

33. The wording of the invocation is not cited here, but in other contexts of the ceremony, the monarch is named as "Chosŏn Kukwang" 朝鮮国王; Sin, *Kukcho orye sŏrye*, 1: 2b.

Confucius is addressed as *Sönsöng taesöng chisöng Munsönnwang* 先聖大成至聖文宣王 (The Former Sage, greatly complete, perfect Sage and King of Culture Universal) with the encomium “Your Way crowns the hundred kings; [you are] the teacher of ten thousand generations.”³⁴ The king then withdraws to a “small staging [pavilion],” where “a curtain is lowered.” The remaining liturgical tasks for the first of the three cycles of offering that constitute the full *sökhönn* are then completed by the “first libationer,” followed by second and third libations phases. Here, the role of second libationer is taken by the crown prince; that of third libationer by the Chief State Councillor (*Yöngüijöng* 領議政); other liturgical roles are taken by state officials.³⁵ The king rejoins the ritual for his drinking of wine of good fortune and distribution of sacrificial viands.³⁶ After this, “the school viewing” begins at the Hall of Illustrating the Cardinal Principles (*Myöngnyndang* 明倫堂); the king and crown prince, both wearing “the crown of assisting the good (*iksönn ’gwan* 翼善冠) and dragon robe (*kollyongp’o* 袞龍袍)”³⁷ together with the academic community partake of commensal wine and the sacrificial offerings and hear a lecture, before the gathering disperses.³⁸

Performance of this, the “great beast” grandest version of the ceremony, is rarely securely documented. According to a schedule in the *Chöng bo munhö bigo* 增補文獻備考 (Revised Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea), it was performed “when there

34. Ibid., 1:3a, 4a.

35. Ibid., 1: 20a-b. With the participation of the emperor as first libationer, the crown prince as second, and a state official as third, in effect the emperor joined a team. This may have been a Jin 金 dynasty (1115–1234) innovation, on which the Hagi domain Confucianists Sasaki Genroku 佐々木源六 and Yamagata Shönan 山県周南 remarked in their *Sekiten kö* 釈奠考 of 1719 (NKSS 6: 115) that “in 1197 [it is recorded that] ‘personal imperial worship of Confucius: princes for second and third libationer and vassals of the imperial kindred; and ministers of civil and military affairs for assistant sacrificers (*bunten*) government officials.’ The question of the second and third libationers in the emperor’s own *sekiten* had not been clearly recorded in previous histories. This is evidence of this [practice].” It is interesting to speculate on whether this team, in effect making the king liturgically a *primus inter pares*, may have reflected a different, more collegiate, concept of sovereignty among Jürched and Korean peoples.

36. Sin, *Kukcho orye üi*, 2: 40a-42a, 91-92.

37. A crown first worn at court by Tang Taizong (Morohashi, *Dai Kanwa jiten*, 28818/44);

38. This crown was first worn at court by Tang Taizong (Morohashi, *ibid.*) A variant version of this was the ceremony led, on the orders of King Yöngjo 英祖 (1724–76) and in his presence, by his grandson 王世孫 in 1767, when the king had reigned for forty-three years (*Chöngbo munhö bigo*, 205: 7b, 3: 391). The record mentions “inspecting the paraphernalia for the victims” (*söngsaengki* 省牲器), and it seems possible that in terms of the oblations at least this was a “great beast” ceremony.

were special homilectics” (*t’ŭkkyo naehaeng* 特教乃行).³⁹ This text refers explicitly to a *suovetaurilia* “great beast” ceremony in 1471, when King Sŏngjong 成宗 (r. 1469–94) made a progress to the Sŏnggyun’gwan wearing *myŏnboku* 冕服 (royal apparel) and carrying a jade baton (*chuchang* 圭璋).⁴⁰ There had been other occasions earlier on which “great beast” version of the ceremony might have been performed. When the government college, the Sŏnggyun’gwan 成均館官, was reinstituted in 1398, a shrine was built and the founding King Taejo 太祖 (1392–98) personally sacrificed there.⁴¹ And in 1405, T’aejong 太宗 (1400–18) also personally sacrificed (*ch’inchŏn* 親奠) there on return to the capital following a succession dispute and temporary move.⁴² The Sŏnggyun’gwan was destroyed in the first Japanese invasion of 1591; and from 1593 for a while a simple temporary altar was used.⁴³ The building required reconstruction again after the second invasion, and a personal royal ceremony referred to as *ch’inche* 親祭, was possibly performed on its completion in 1601; possibly this, too, might have been a “great beast” ceremony.⁴⁴

A lesser version of this ceremony, *Chak hŏnmun sŏnwang sihakŭi* 酌獻文宣王視學儀 (Procedures for libation to the King of Culture Universal and school viewing), corresponds to the Koryŏ monarchical “school viewing” described above, and seems to be modelled on the similar *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* and Koryŏ *Sihak chakhŏnŭi* ceremonies.⁴⁵ It was a simple offering of incense and goblet libation by the king in the presence of the crown prince and others below; similar offerings to four correlates and other subsidiary venerands; were followed by the “school viewing.”⁴⁶ From 1651, this became the regular version of the ceremony when the king visited on days on which the *sŏkchŏn* was not prescribed.⁴⁷ This

39. *Chŭngbo munhŏn bigo*, 204: 26a, 382; Satō, “Chōsen ni okeru Kōshi sai,” part, 3: 51.

40. *Chŭngbo munhŏn bigo*, 205: 2a, 388. This “great beast” ceremony is referred to later in this chronologically arranged text in a notice for the year 1726; *Ibid.*, 205: 3: 6a, 390; this cultural memory underscores the rarity of this version of the ceremony.

41. Satō, “Chōsen ni okeru Kōshi sai,” part 2: 42.

42. *Chŭngbo munhŏn bigo* 205:1a, 388. The term *ch’inchŏn* 親奠 (personal offering) is used here.

43. Satō, “Chōsen ni okeru Kōshi sai,” part 2: 44; *Chŭngbo munhŏn bigo* 204: 9b-10a, 365.

44. *Ibid.*, 205: 4a, 389.

45. Sin, *Kukcho oryeŭi*, 2: 42b-46b, 92-95; Sin, *Kukcho orye sŏrye*, 20b-21a.

46. Like its Koryŏ predecessor, this version may have influenced Arai Hakuseki in Japan, as one source of his “single libation.” See above, footnote 9.

47. *Chŭngbo munhŏn bigo* 205: 3: 5a, 390; Satō, “Chōsen ni okeru Kōshi sai,” part 2, 46.

version may be the triennial rite of which the Korean ambassador boasted to Hayashi Razan when visiting Edo in 1636.⁴⁸

Following this, the *Kukcho oryeŭi* specifies two rites for the crown prince: on admission to school *Wang seja chakhŏn munsŏn wang iphakŭi* 王世子酌獻文宣王入学儀 (Procedures for the King's heir (crown prince) to make libation to the king of culture universal and for his induction to the academy), a rite not replicated in Japan;⁴⁹ and a *sŏkchŏn* for the crown prince, *Wang seja sŏkchŏn munsŏn wangŭi* 王世子稷奠文宣王儀; (Procedures for the king's heir to perform *sŏkchŏn* to the king of culture universal).⁵⁰

Of greater interest for the purpose of comparison with the Japanese cult is the *Yusa sŏkchŏn munsŏn wangŭi* 有司稷奠文宣王儀 (Procedures for officers to perform *sŏkchŏn* to the King of Culture Universal).⁵¹ This was the regular twice annual ceremony corresponding to the *mimeisai* in the ancient Japanese tradition. In contrast to the Koryŏ version of this ceremony, which had, like the ancient Japanese *mimeisai*, been officiated purely from within the academy, in the Chosŏn dynasty the liturgical officers for this ceremony appear to have been appointed from the high ranks of the senior civil bureaucracy: first libationer: senior second rank (*chŏng ip'um* 正二品); second: third rank, upper official (*samp'um sanggwan* 三品上官); third: senior third rank (*chŏng samp'um* 正三品); subsidiary officiants in the sanctuary; fourth rank (*sap'um* 四品); and so on. Only the controllers of the shrine *myosa* 廟司 are specified as recruited from the Sŏnggyun'gwan. The roles of these high-ranking officials signify that, like its Chinese counterpart, the originally intra-mural school ceremony had, in contrast to its Japanese counterpart the stubbornly intramural *mimeisai*, become an affair of the whole body politic.

48. *Chŭngbo munhŏn bigo*, 204: 26a, 3: 382. So much is also suggested by Razan's questioning of the Korean ambassador in the *hitsudan* of 1636. Takahashi, "Kinsei shoki no Jukyō to 'rei,'" 244-45, and *WOC* chapter 2: "Early Rinke performances in Edo." This may also be one source of Hakuseki's "single libation."

49. Sin, *Kukcho oryeŭi*, 2: 46b-49a, 95-97; Sin, *Kukcho orye sŏrye*, 1: 21a-b. The king ordered his heir to attend school, for instance, in 1400; *Chŭngbo munhŏn bigo*, 205: 1a, 3: 388.

50. Sin, *Kukcho oryeŭi*, 49a-56a, 97-100; Sin, *Kukcho orye sŏrye*, 1: 21a-b.

51. Sin, *Kukcho orye ŭi*, 56a-62b, 100-103; Sin, *Kukcho orye sŏrye*, 1:21b; cf. *Zhenghe wuli xinyi juan* 121: 1a-8a, where it is a *shaolao* 小牢 rite; sheep and pig and Wang Anshi 王安石 is a correlate.

Also specified were bimonthly ceremonies at the academy, like those at the Chinese counterpart: *Munsonwang sakmang chǒnŭi* 文宣王朔望奠儀 (Procedures for offerings to the King of Culture Universal on the first and fifteenth day of the month).⁵² One libationer: senior third rank (*samp'um* 三品); this appears to be intra-mural ceremony based on the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*, where it is called a *shicai*. Offerings were: incense, goblet, invocation. Following the first Japanese invasion, this was reduced to burning of incense. Finally, *Kukcho oryeŭi* provided for occasional services, including the apotropaic *Munsonwang sǒngo sayu kŭp ihwan ancheŭi* 文宣王先告事由及移還安祭儀 (Procedures to announce circumstances and to make sacrifices for “pacification” [*an* 安] after moving or reinstating [an object of worship]).⁵³ Other communal Confucian rituals such as the “Great archery rite” (*taexaye* 大射礼), and the “Nourishing the old ceremony” (*yangnoye* 養老礼) are sporadically also recorded. So also is communal feasting: for instance in 1489 King Sǒngjong, a keen promoter of Confucianism, gave a “Great feast” (*taebo* 大酺) for “several thousand men” from the bureaucratic and Confucian student communities.⁵⁴

In Chosŏn Korea, each district had its own government school (*hyanggyo* 郷校). These schools followed the pattern of the metropolitan Sǒnggyun'gwan and contained shrines to Confucius and Myǒngnundang 明倫堂 (lecture halls), where the ceremonies to venerate Confucius were performed.⁵⁵ As in the Koryŏ period, provincial ceremonies included a *Sǒkchǒn* 州県稷奠文宣王儀 (Procedures for the Sǒkchǒn for the King of Culture Universal in provincial areas); the liturgy was based on the main service for the state university.⁵⁶ Last of all came the provincial equivalent of the metropolitan “pacification” ceremony above, *Chuhyŏn munsǒnwang sǒngo sayu kŭp ihwan ancheŭi* 州県文宣王先告事由及移還安祭儀

52. Sin, *Kukcho orye ŭi*, 2: 62a-64b, 103-04; Sin, *Kukcho orye sǒrye*, 1:21b.

53. Sin, *Kukcho oryeŭi*, 2: 164a, 104-06; Sin, *Kukcho orye sǒrye*, 1:21b. The procedures consisted of: incense; banner; incense and banner to correlates; libation (*chakhǒn* 酌獻) to Confucius; invocation; libation to correlates; offerings to subsidiary venerands; burial of invocation board.

54. E.g. for the “archery rite” in 1534, *Chŭngbo munhǒn bigo* 205:11b, 3: 393; for the “nourishing the old” in 1478 Ibid., 205: 2b, 3: 388; for the “great feast” of 1489, ibid. 205: 2b, 3: 388.

55. Satō, “Chōsen ni okeru Kōshi sai,” part 2: 47.

56. Sin, *Kukcho oryeŭi*, 2:67a-71b, 106-08; Sin, *Kukcho orye sǒrye*, 21b-22a. first libationer: incense; banner; and before four correlates. Offering of goblet; reading of invocation; goblet to four correlates on same procedure [but no invocation]; second and third libations; subsidiary libations. Drinking of wine of good fortune. sharing of viands; burial of invocation board and banner.

(Procedures to announce circumstances and to make sacrifices for pacification after moving or returning [an object of worship] in provincial areas).⁵⁷ The cult penetrated further; from 1701, veneration of Confucius' father was introduced, based on Ming liturgies. It spread to the provinces from 1741.⁵⁸

Overlapping official provincial schools and eventually largely replacing them were the *sōwōn* 書院, the equivalent of the Chinese *shuyuan*. Founded from the sixteenth century, they came to receive government support.⁵⁹ This was a major means of the nation-wide diffusion of the veneration of Confucius in Chosŏn Korea and during the subsequent Japanese occupation. Considerable numbers were claimed as bearers of this cult. As late as 1910, the Confucian community (*yurim* 儒林; school officials, students, former students) consisted of 19,075 households; in 1928, the figure numbered 227,546; individuals. In January 1928, there were 328 *munmyo* 文廟. Attendance at the *Sōkchōn* in Seoul on 14 April 1937 numbered 5,300 and in the provinces it was calculated at "about 100,000."⁶⁰

The *sōwōn* were the setting for what may be one of the most encompassing ritual acts of religious veneration of Confucius in East Asia.⁶¹ Not specified in the *Kukcho oryeŭi*, but still more diffused widely in society, was the *Hoecip togyaku pōp* 会集読約法 (Rules for reading the compact at gatherings), the project of Yi I 李珥 (pen name Yulgok 栗谷; 1536–84).⁶² This work "stipulated a private academy as meeting place - a setting that created for the

57. Sin, *Kukcho oryeŭi*, 2: 71b-74b, 108-09.

58. Satō, "Chōsen ni okeru Kōshi sai," part 3: 50-51.

59. The Korean *sōwōn* represented the emergence of middle and small landlords, the *sarim* 士林 class in the Chosŏn period. They were generally small institutions, one purpose of which was sacrifice to earlier figures in the Neo-Confucian tradition. These could be Chinese, but were often Korean, initially from the Koryō period. The *sōwōn* were private institutions, with private endowments. However, they could receive state recognition in the form of *saek* 賜額 (granting a plaque). This involved some financial benefits (land, tax exemption) as well as *nobi* 奴婢 or unfree labour, but they also attracted private endowments as well, and thus deflected income from the government. Hence, in periods of centralized royal control, they were reformed, weeded, or limited). For a list of the 903 *sōwōn* (plus *sau* 祠宇), of which 270 had plaques, see, Ri Taichin 李泰鎮 (Yi T'aejin), *Chōsen ōchō shakai to Jukyō*, 247, note 14.

60. Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Sekiten, Kiu, Antaku*, 31-32.

61. Under the Vietnamese emperor Minh Mang 明命 (r. 1820–40, the cult of Confucius also penetrated to the village level. See appendix 7(b).

62. Deuchler, "The Practice of Confucianism," 298.

‘Community Compact’ a semi-religious atmosphere by invoking the prestige of the Confucian pantheon.”⁶³

Before the reading, the compact officers bowed and burnt incense in front of the spirit tablets of Confucius, of his disciples, and of Confucian worthies of later times, among them Zhu Xi. After that, the compact members filed into the shrine and expressed their respect by bowing and burning incense in a strictly controlled sequence. This ceremony completed, the paper tablets burnt. Ceremonial bowing among the compact members themselves followed, whereupon they took up their seats, which had been carefully assigned according to status and seniority in the lecture hall.⁶⁴

For Deuchler, this contrasted with the Chinese equivalent. “[I]t was the periodic gathering of all compact members - high and low - in a specially prepared communal space that gave the readings their full [Confucian] didactic weight.”⁶⁵ “Whereas Zhu Xi had envisaged the community compact as an ethical enterprise confined to the elite alone, the Korean compacts were designed to engage the non-elite as well.”⁶⁶

The history of Confucianism in Korea was not peaceful. The tension between monarch and the bureaucratic bearers of Confucian belief, identified in *The Worship of Confucius* chapter 2 as fundamental to the canonical Tang metropolitan rite, is conspicuous in Korea. Deuchler writes of “the generally weak and vulnerable status of the Yi [Chosŏn] king vis-à-vis the officeholding elite.”⁶⁷ But Korean monarchs sometimes asserted their authority across this fault-line. Thus “T’aejong in 1414, when visiting the National Academy where Confucius was enshrined, refused to bow at the tablet of the Great Master. This king placed himself above Confucius, but his own ministers insisted that Confucius was the immortal light for all rulers.”⁶⁸ In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries there was vicious factional feuding.⁶⁹ “During this period it is said, “Yonsan’gun 燕山君 (r.1494–1506). . . executed scores of Confucian scholars and officials because he disliked the moralizing and

63. Ibid., 306-7.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid., 327.

66. Ibid., 326.

67. Ibid., 299.

68. Palmer, *Confucian Rituals in Korea*, 93.

69. Wagner, Edward W., *The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974; purges of Yongsan’gun (1495–1506).

criticism of Confucianists.”⁷⁰ The reign of King Sōngjong 成宗 (1470–94), however, witnessed consolidation of monarchical Confucian influence. In 1471, as seen above, he performed a “great beast” ceremony to Confucius in the Sōnggyun’gwan.⁷¹ In 1492, in a gesture of respect that seems to have influenced the accouterments of the cult in Japan, he instituted a feretory (*kwedo* 櫃 櫨) to house the wooden tablet (*mokchu* 木主) of Confucius.⁷²

Against this background, it seems plausible to see the cult of Confucius and particularly the royal rites conducted in the Sōnggyun’gwan as serving the function of addressing structural tensions in the socio-political system. It was this tension that was addressed also in the Tang metropolitan rite and thereafter in Chinese history. Perhaps this important function explains the liturgical stability and continuity of performance over the Chosōn Dynasty (and also in China) that forms such a marked contrast with the history of the cult in Japan. Already in the ancient period, the different directions taken in the development of the cult of Confucius between Korean and Japanese cults was apparent. Unlike the Japanese *sekiten*, the Korean *sōkchōn* was not marginalized, nor sequestered in the academy. It was integrated into the operations of the royal and bureaucratic state and provided a mechanism whereby some of its structural tensions might, at least in principle, be addressed.

Abbreviations

- CC Legge, James, trans. *The Chinese Classics*. Original ed., 1865–93. Reprint. 5 vols. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960.
- KKS Kaitei shiseki shūran 改定史籍集覽. 33 vols. Kondō Shuppanbu 1882-1903.
- NKSS Monbushō 文部省, comp. *Nihon kyōiku shi shiryō* 日本教育史資料. 10 vols. Fuzan Bō, 1890–92.
- SKQS [Qinding] *Siku quanshu* [欽定] 四庫全書 (Wenyuan ge 文淵閣 ed.). 5000 vols.

70. Palmer, *Confucian Rituals in Korea*, 21.

71. Satō, “Chōsen ni okeru Kōshi sai,” part 2, 42.

72. Ibid., 43.

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- Zheng Juzhong 鄭居中. *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* 政和五禮新儀. In *SKQS*.

APPENDIX 7(b)

Vietnam

Like Korea, though sometimes with more grandiose aspirations, Vietnam was a polity that asserted its own sovereignty and independence from China, yet at the same time participated in the East Asian Sinitic cultural sphere. Western scholarship on pre-colonial Vietnamese history has been preoccupied with the question of national identity, whether, or to what extent, Vietnam has been a fundamentally a Confucian “little China,” or, rather, belongs to the South East Asian cultural sphere.¹ The cultural dependence on China here, even more than in Korea, was differentiated according to social status and region. The elite stratum and the political system were Sinicized. The cult of Confucius took root here, as elsewhere in East Asia, in the wake of the Tang expansion. Most prominently, Vietnam early on founded a Confucian state academy and operated a Confucian-inspired system of selecting bureaucrats by examination. As a polity, however, Vietnam was turbulent, subject to “internecine hostilities . . . often throughout [its] history.”² Documentation of the early history of the ceremony remains sparse, sporadic, and often confusing, due in part to the destruction of sources that took place during the Ming occupation of 1407–27.

The first construction of precincts to venerate Confucius in Vietnam is disputed. It is possible that the ceremony was observed in some form during the long period up till the mid-tenth century in which what is now Vietnam was subject to China. The first extant notice, however, comes in 1070, during the Lý 李 dynasty (1010–1225). In 1070, according to the

1. For the expression, “little China,” see Kelly, “‘Confucianism’ in Vietnam,” 318.

2. Kelly, *Beyond the bronze pillars*, 20.

Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư 大越南史記全書, a “*Văn Miêu*” 文廟 (Confucian temple) was “repaired” (*tu* 修), and “images of Confucius, the Duke of Zhou, and the four correlates were modeled, pictures made of the seventy-two worthies and offerings in the four seasons. The crown prince attended at the school.”³ In 1076, in an associated notice, a government college with the same name as its Chinese counterpart, *Quốc Tử Giám* 國子監 (State Academy Directorate), was founded. There are problems of historicity with these early references, however. As pointed out by A.B. Poliakov, the term *Văn Miêu* is anachronistic, not being used in China until 1420.⁴ Further apparent anomalies are the inclusion of the Duke of Zhou as a venerand and the “four seasons” observance, neither of which was standard practice elsewhere in East Asia at this time. Reference to the “four correlates” is probably also anachronistic; in China, they were not so designated until 1267. In addition, there is an unsettling resemblance between the 1070 notice and a similarly worded notice during the following Trần 陳 dynasty (1225–1400).⁵

More convincingly, in 1156 but still under the Lý regime, a “shrine to Confucius” was built but seems to have required repairs as soon as 1171.⁶ From this time, figures identifiable as Confucians, rather than Buddhists, begin to play a significant role in Vietnamese politics.⁷ Under the Trần dynasty, a *Quốc Học Viện* 國學院 (national academy) was set up in 1253, and images of Confucius, the Duke of Zhou 周公, Yan Hui 顏回, and the seventy-two worthies were worshipped.⁸ During the fourteenth century there are indications that Confucianism was exerting greater influence in the court. On 1323/viii/22, the emperor (*đế* 帝) is recorded to have made a progress to the “State Academy” (*Thái Học* 太學).⁹ In 1370, a Vietnamese Confucian Chu Văn An 朱文安 (1292–1370), director of the State Academy Directorate, was made a secondary venerand;¹⁰ so also in 1372, was an assistant tutor

3. Go, *Dai Etsu shiki*, *quần* 3, 1: 245. For the four correlates and 72 worthies, see Trần Hàm Tân, “Étude sur le Văn-miêu de Hanôï,” 95-99.

4. Poliakov, “On the date of construction of Van Mieu,” 28.

5. Go, *Dai Etsu shiki*, *quần* 5, 1: 338.

6. Ibid., *quần* 4, 295, 299.

7. Poliakov, “On the date of construction of Van Mieu,” 34.

8. Go, *Dai Etsu shiki*, *quần*, 5, 1: 338.

9. Ibid., *quần* 6, 403.

10. Ibid., *quần* 7, 440; Trần Hàm Tân, “Étude sur le Văn-miêu de Hanôï,” 93.

(*thiểuphó* 少傅), Truong Hán Sieu 張漢超 (?–1354);¹¹ and, in 1380, Đỗ Tý Bình 杜子平.¹² There followed tantalizing signs of controversy that must reflect political alignments in Vietnam's turbulent politics. In 1392 the “usurper” Hồ Quý Ly (胡季犛, 1336–1407?) argued in his *Minh đạo biên* 明道篇 that during the Quang Thái 光泰 period (1388–98), the Duke of Zhou had “always been considered” as the “Former Sage” and placed centrally and south facing, while Confucius was the “Former Teacher” and placed against the side and facing West.¹³ By 1497, however, the Duke of Zhou had been dropped. An invocation, drafted by a Vietnamese, to Confucius and the four Confucian correlates, like that in use in contemporary China, was employed.¹⁴

The Ming occupation (1407–27) witnessed an advance in the Sinicization of the country. In 1416, “well over a hundred” schools were established, concentrated in the “upper delta around the capital. . . . The teachers were probably a mixture of Chinese and Vietnamese as the Ming sought out learned local scholars.”¹⁵ In schools such as these, the students would have attended twice-monthly *thíchthái* 積菜 services to honor Confucius, as well as the twice annual *thíchdiện* 積奠 rites; they would have been intensively exposed to Confucian ritual culture including daily visits to the Confucian temple and attending the twice annual *thíchdiện* rite.¹⁶

After the expulsion of the Chinese, the process of Sinicizing the elite deepened further during the first century or so of the indigenous Later Lê 黎 dynasty (1428–1788). Rhetorical commitment to the cult of Confucius was made after the death of the first Lê emperor. An edict concerned with consolidating the examination system issued in 1434/viii claimed that “when Lê Thái Tông 黎太祖 (r. 1428–33) first established the country, the way he founded schools and worshiped Confucius with the great beast ceremony (*tháilà* 太牢); the great honor that he paid [Confucius] was perfect.”¹⁷ While the liturgy of this ceremony does not

11. Go, *Dai Etsu shiki*, *quần* 7, 1: 444

12. Ibid., 455; Trần Hàm Tấn, “Étude sur le Văn-miêu de Hanôi,” 93.

13. Go, *Dai Etsu shiki*, *quần* 8, 1: 467–68.

14. See Trần Hàm Tấn, “Étude sur le Văn-miêu de Hanôi,” 93–94.

15. Whitmore, “Chiao-chih and Neo-Confucianism,” 68.

16. For a long view of the place of the temple in traditional Vietnamese life, see Phan Ke-binh, “Notes on Traditional Education,” 76–78.

17. Go, *Dai Etsu shiki*, *quần* 11, 1: 577.

survive, the explicit use of the “great beast” ceremony as a rite to venerate Confucius is significant; in China, it was an imperial prerogative. Thus the ceremony was possibly exploited as a symbolic assertion of independence from China. Equally, it may have been intended to emphasize the new dynasty’s authority within the country.

The ceremony now seems to have been ordained a regular element in the annual cycle of the Vietnam court. On 1435/ii/5 (a calendrically-prescribed *ding* day) “orders were given to a junior assistant *tiểu bảo* 小保, Lê Quốc Hưng 黎国興 to perform the ritual to the Former Teacher Master Kong. Let it be the norm from now on.”¹⁸ The second half of the fifteenth century was regarded as a “golden age” under Emperor Lê Thánh Tông 黎聖宗 (1460–97), during which the country was unified under a single court and the examination system “attained a definitive maturity.”¹⁹ Thánh Tông “set up temples of literature (*Văn Miếu*) throughout the provinces.”²⁰ These temples were the focus of the cult of Confucius. He instituted Confucian ceremonies on “the first and fifteenth days of every lunar month. . . All officials, except those in mourning, had to participate in them.”²¹ References in the *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* to the cult of Confucius continue sporadically. In 1483, further building work, “a Hall of Great Accomplishment (*Đại Thành Điện* 大成殿),” east and west cloisters, a changing hall, book printing block hall, ritual paraphernalia hall, and an east and west *Minh Luân Đường* 明倫堂 (lecture hall) were built.²² But there appears to be no evidence that during these years the ceremony received personal imperial patronage. It is said that at this time a political struggle took place between military or oligarchic and bureaucratic factions.²³ This instability could, as in ancient Japan, have had an impact on patronage and performance of the ceremony. Apparent confusion in the record may reflect factional turbulence, and further research is required.

From the beginning of the sixteenth up to the early nineteenth centuries, Vietnam was divided, first between the Mạc 莫 in the north and the longer lasting but eventually weak Lê

18. Go, *Dai Etsu shiki*, quán 11, 2: 584.

19. Woodside, *Vietnam and the Chinese Model*, 169; for the “golden age,” see also Taylor, “Vietnamese Confucian narratives,” 345.

20. Whitmore, *The Development of Le Government*, 157.

21. Ibid., 164.

22. Go, *Dai Etsu shiki*, quán 13, 2: 717.

23. For conflict between “military men” and “scholar officials,” see Smith, “The cycle of Confucianization,” 10-11.

in the south; then between the Trịnh 鄭 and Nguyễn 阮 wielders of power in the north and center respectively. The cult of Confucius appears to have been maintained over this long period. In 1694, the very year in which the fifth Tokugawa shogun escorted his mother to view the Shrine in Edo, the Nguyễn prince, Nguyễn Phúc Chu 福澗 (1675–1725), “visited the Sage and himself composed a poem of praise to him.”²⁴ In 1732, new gold-inlay ritual paraphernalia were presented and the sacrifices were performed “as normal.”²⁵ Yet again, in 1759, the prince visited the national school and “sacrificed to the former teacher.”²⁶ However, there was competition from Buddhism; in 1734, the ruling lord Trịnh Giang 鄭杠 (1711–62) is reported to have prohibited the import of Confucian texts from China.²⁷ There was strong competition also from rival military war god cults. In 1740, sacrificial services were established and income from a village was dedicated to financing twice-annual shrine worship of the military deities Vu Thành 武成 and Quan Đế, 關帝.²⁸ In 1746, a shrine was inaugurated to the latter on the orders of the Nguyễn lord, who “paid attention to military books and profoundly admired Quân Công’s loyalty, and gave orders to build a shrine to worship him.”²⁹ By the end of the eighteenth century, the country was dominated by “military overlords.”³⁰ None of the centers of power that had developed by this time is said to have been “strongly Confucian.”³¹

In 1802, however, Vietnam was reunited under the Nguyễn imperial regime. Initially military in character, this regime renewed intensive and up-to-date Sinification of the polity and administrative structure from its new capital at Phú Xuân 富春 (modern Huế). The “middle worship” ceremonies to venerate Confucius and his father made up an important part of this program. In 1803, funds were dedicated for the twice-annual celebrations of the “great

24. Go, *Dai Etsu shiki, tuc biên, quán 1*, 3: 1022.

25. Ibid., *tuc biên, quán 2*, 3: 1074.

26. Ibid., *tuc biên, quán 4*, 3: 1147.

27. Smith, “The cycle of Confucianization,” 19.

28. Go, *Dai Etsu shiki, tuc biên, quán 3*, 3: 1100. Vu Thành (C. Wu Cheng, sc. Chinese: Taigong Wang 太公望, deified by emperor Suzong 肅宗 [r. 736-38] of Tang in a military cult parallel to that of Confucius; see David McMullen, “The Cult of Ch’i T’ai-kung”) and Quan Đế, 關帝 (C. Guan Di), ubiquitously venerated in China.

29. Go, *Dai Etsu shiki, tuc biên, quán 4*, 3: 1122.

30. Woodside, *Vietnam and the Chinese Model*, 18.

31. Smith, “The cycle of Confucianization,” 20.

beast” version of the *thíchđiện* at the main altar of the Confucian shrine.³² Like his Korean counterpart, the founding Gia-long 嘉龍 emperor (r. 1802–19) himself attended the ceremony once every three years, in 1805, 1808, 1811, 1814, “and so on”; “for the other years, he sent an official from the civil division on imperial orders to perform the ritual.”³³ In a reversal of localism, but in tune with the new dynasty’s intense emulation of contemporary Chinese practices, the indigenous Trần 陳 dynasty subsidiary venerands installed in the Confucian temple were dropped and a Chinese list adopted.³⁴

The second Nguyễn emperor, Minh Mạng 明命 (r. 1820–40), similarly took charge of the cult of Confucius; he declared in the third year of his reign that, “From the start of my succession, I have always desired to attend the *thíchđiện* at the *Văn Miếu*. I have on one occasion postponed my yearning a little. But this spring, on the *đinh* 丁[day], the very day of the offering, I go in person and perform the sacrifice in order to reveal my perfect intention to honor the Teacher and the Way.”³⁵ The *Khâm định Đại Nam hội điển sự lệ* 欽定大越南會典事例 (Imperially commissioned Great Vietnam collected statutes and precedents), the Vietnamese counterpart to the *huidian* 會典 (Collected statutes) of successive Chinese dynasties, contains elaborate directives for the emperor’s attendance at the Confucian shrine: setting out of the ritual premises in advance; the emperor’s departure under guard from his palace, journey to the shrine by boat, entry into the shrine in an imperial conveyance, accoutered with “nine dragon crown, yellow robe, jade belt and holding a mace.” The emperor was accompanied at the ceremony by the enfeoffed imperial kindred and other imperial relatives. The ceremony followed the conventional stages of offering of incense and the full three-libation ceremony, with six row dances, and music. A second set of directives addresses the annual spring and autumn ceremonies, where the chief officer is the “emperor’s commissioner” (*khâm mạngquan* 欽命官).³⁶

Outside the metropolis, in 1838, Minh Mạng “expanded the architecture of provincial

32. *Khâm định Đại Nam hội điển sự lệ*, 90: 6a.

33. Ibid., 90:8b, *Khâm định Đại Nam hội điển sự lệ*, 90: 8b.

34. For a list of the venerands see Trần Ham Tân, “Étude sur le Văn-miêu,” 99-101; for the background to the exclusion, see Cooke, “The Myth of the Restoration,” 284-85.

35. *Khâm định Đại Nam hội điển sự lệ*, 90: 8b.

36. Ibid., 95: 31/b-38a.

Confucian temples which now became larger and more ornate.”³⁷ The cult of Confucius penetrated to the village level, for “in each village, there was either a Literature shrine” (*Văn Tu* 文祠), dedicated to those among the village population who had become mandarins. In villages with no one among their members [who had done so], the temples were dedicated to Confucius. . . Each year, sacrifices took place only twice: in the second and eighth months.”³⁸ It is this penetration of the Confucian cult, together with the promotion and diffusion of versions of Zhu Xi’s manual of Confucian family ritual, the *Văn Công gia lễ* 文公家礼 (Chinese: *Wengong jiali*), that forms the basis of the view of Vietnam as deeply influenced by Confucianism, or as a “little China.”³⁹ Whatever the vicissitudes of the ceremony in earlier times, during the final phase of Vietnamese history the state adopted the Qing model; the emperors of Vietnam asserted possession of the cult of Confucius.

A picture emerges of Vietnam as in some ways not unlike Korea in respect of the diffusion of Confucian beliefs and practices. At least among its elite, this was a society whose idealized image of itself and its own cultural pride privileged Confucian learning and the cult of Confucius. From the time of the Chinese occupation in the fifteenth century, Confucianism took root. It was in turn underpinned by the great importance attached to Chinese-style examinations to gain access to bureaucratic office; a functioning state education system and an examination system that provided, albeit not without interruption, a route to bureaucratic office. Whereas in Korea, respect for indigenous distinction was expressed by secondary venerand status in the shrine, in Vietnam, rather, it was epigraphic in form. The strength of the examination system is symbolized by the eighty-two surviving steles that commemorate successful candidates from 1442–1779 in the Hanoi shrine.⁴⁰ At the apex of the polity, the Vietnamese emperors exploited the ceremony to legitimate their rule. They took possession of the cult of Confucius, much as the great Qing emperors had done in China. The idealized picture of a nation sharing Confucian aspirations down to the village level, in so far as it can be substantiated, must belong to this period.

37. Woodside, *Vietnam and the Chinese Model*, 130.

38. Phan Ke-binh, “Notes on Traditional Education,” 76-77.

39. For this expression, see Kelly, “Confucianism in Vietnam,” 318. For the influence of Zhu Xi’s ritual manual, see Shimao, “Confucian Family Ritual.”

40. Trần Ham Tân, “Étude sur le Văn-miêu,” 103-07.

Abbreviations

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

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APPENDIX 7(c)

Ryūkyū

In a world, and particularly an East Asian order, in which statehood had different connotations from the present, Ryūkyū is a special case. On the one hand, though the kingdom lay outside the direct administration of the Japanese mainland, it had had been subjected to conquest by Satsuma in 1609 and was sited within a framework of subordination to both the Satsuma domain and the Tokugawa Bakufu; between 1644 and 1850 it sent eighteen embassies (*shaonshi* 謝恩使) to Edo. On the other hand, it was also, with the tacit assent of Satsuma which relied on it for intelligence concerning China and for trade with that country, a tributary state to the Qing dynasty. The Ryūkyū king received investiture as “proxy king” (*zhunwang* 准王), from the Chinese emperor, and “wore the crown and robes received from the Chinese emperor on formal occasions.”¹ In Gregory Smits’s masterly analysis, the archipelago was a “quasi-independent country” whose political and cultural status was continually negotiated between the claims of the island state itself, Satsuma, the Edo Bakufu and the Qing court.²

Ryūkyū was thus exposed to influence from both China and Japan. From the later seventeenth century and against a background of “a number of distinct cultures and subcultures” attempts among the elite gathered intensity to promote Confucian institutions and values and a “pro-China” vision of the islands’ position.³ The principal locus for this lay in the Chinese

1. Smits, *Visions of Ryukyu*, 41.

2. Ibid., 48-49.

3. Ibid., 132.

immigrant-descended settlement at Kumemura 久米村, close to the capital, Shuri 首里. This community had a special role, to “master Chinese cultural forms to maintain the vital diplomatic and trade relations with China.”⁴ Within this group the earliest veneration of Confucius on the archipelago is reported when, in 1610 the *Shikin taifu* 紫金大夫 (purple and gold hatted official), Sai Ken 蔡堅, a “tribute scholar” to China much impressed there by the cult of Confucius, “painted an image of the Sage and, returning with it, did not have the leisure to construct a shrine, but with other scholar officials worshipped routinely at home.”⁵ This rite, however, seems likely to have had little political significance beyond an affirmation of the emigrant community’s origins and identity.

Change came some half-century later. Kin Seishun 金正春, another *Shikin taifu*, “feared that worship in a home bordered on defilement and did not honor the Sage or value the meaning of the Way.” He proposed to the king that an official shrine be built. The result two years later in 1672 was the completion of the first such building in Kumemura.⁶ The precinct was described in his *Chūzan denshin roku* 中山伝信録 (Report from Chūzan; published 1721) by the Chinese ambassador Xu Baoguang 徐葆光 (1671–1723), who visited the islands from summer 1719 till the following spring. Xu wrote of “a court of well over ten *mou* (畝) and a bowing platform; the main hall was of three bays (*chien* 間).⁷ In front of a statue of Confucius there is a wooden spirit tablet; the four correlates each hold a Confucian classic. The plaque over the central bay is in the hand of the Kangxi emperor.” Ceremonies were ordered by the king to begin in 1675.⁸ Establishment of the rite, however, as so often, seems to have been gradual. The ceremony, Xu reported, initially “seems to have been a very simple one.” Either a *shikin taifu* or *chōshikan* (長

4. Ibid., 42.

5. Nakazato, *Ryūkyūkoku yuraiki*, kan 9, 184. *Shikin taifu* (literally: minister entitled to wear a purple hat with gold [threads]), also referred to as *oyakata* 親方 (lords; members of the scholar official class).

6. Tei, *Byōgaku kiryaku*, 171.

7. Xu, *Zhongshan juanxin lu*, 304. See also the plan in NKSS 6: 154, which shows a lavish building, with two gates and a court. The central shrine has three bays, a hipped roof, and an apron; the area is approximately 1.5 acres.

8. Tei, *Ryūkyūkoku shinken shiseibyō ki*, 170.

史官 senior secretary) was the chief celebrant; paper [used for the invocation] was burned, and a banner was not employed. Nor were abstinence or sacrificial victims organized. An “eight bow rite” (*hachihairei* 八拝礼) was performed; there was no “drinking of the sacrificial wine or receipt of sacrificial viands.”⁹ Smits writes that at this stage the Confucian rites were still “of little importance outside Kumemura.”¹⁰ They did, however, receive patronage from the Ryūkyū monarch. According to the *Ryūkyūkoku yuraiki* (History of the Ryūkyū state) of 1713, the king Shō Tei 尚貞 (r. 1669–1709) chose an auspicious day after his accession and visited the shrine to offer incense and other oblations; the royal crown princes and crown grandsons (*ōseishi* 王世子, *ōseison* 王世孫) also visited once a year, on the first *ding* day of the second or eighth month.¹¹

At this shrine, however, in 1674 there was still no school.¹² What followed demonstrates the aspirations of the Ryūkyūan elite to conform with Chinese cultural and political practices. The lack of a school had inspired a reproach from a Chinese ambassador Wang Ji 汪楫 (1636–89) visiting in 1682.¹³ Wang and his deputy ambassador Lin Linzhang 林麟煊 (dates unknown) wrote memorials urging support for a Confucian school and the cult of Confucius. Wang stressed both the role of Ryūkyū as an outpost of civilized and moral society under the sagely Kangxi emperor and the interdependence of shrine and school in the ideal order. He called for the establishment of a school and for a fixed examination system to select officials, rather than the informal home instruction and procedures hitherto employed. If necessary, Ryūkyū should apply to Qing China for a qualified scholar to head the school.¹⁴ It is interesting to note that, even as they urged development of the cult of Confucius, the two ambassadors also advised establishment of the worship of the Chinese god of war, Guan Di 關帝, perceived as “the spirit

9. Xu, *Zhongshan juanxin lu*, 304. Tei refers to this ceremony as a *Sekisai*; Tei, *Byōgaku kiryaku*, 171.

10. Smits, *Visions of Ryukyu*, 43.

11. Nakazato, *Ryūkyūkoku yuraiki*, 184–85.

12. Xu, *Zhongshan juanxin lu*; 307.

13. Wang, *Cefeng Liuqiu shi lu*, 37–8.

14. Wang Ji, *Liuqiuguo xin jian zhisheng miao ji*. NKSS 6: 171; a further memorial was written by deputy ambassador Lin Linzhang 林麟煊. Text in *ibid.*, 172.

that protects the land, the queller of evil spirits.” The ambassadors contributed silver.¹⁵ Statues were created, and an additional altar placed in the shrine of Shangtianfei 上天妃 (Princess of Heaven) in Tōei 唐榮 village. There, a flourishing religious cult of thrice annual and twice monthly ceremonies developed.¹⁶

The establishment of a school and fuller and more authoritative version of the rites was the achievement of Tei Junsoku 程順則 (1663–1734), who had himself both studied and served as a Ryūkyūan diplomat in China.¹⁷ Tei held a universalist, Sinocentric vision of Ryūkyūan identity: he “tended to see China as a literary and aesthetic ideal that other Ryūkyūans should strive to emulate in the field of culture. For him, the Chinese emperor and his capital were the center and source of culture and civilizations.”¹⁸ In 1717, Tei drew on the Wang and Lin memorials to press for the building of a school. In 1718, the Meirindō 明倫堂 (lecture hall) was constructed to the east of the Sage’s shrine. On the north wall, following the practice in China since the Jiajing reform of 1530, a precinct for the worship of Confucius’ father and the fathers of the four correlates was partitioned off.¹⁹ Meanwhile, Xu reported that the *shidian* ceremony had achieved an impressive maturity. Beginning from the second month of 1719, again at the request of Tei Junsoku himself, a “great beast” (*tailao* 太牢) ceremony was performed for Confucius at the Sage’s shrine; and for his father, the “lesser beast” (*shaolao* 少牢); banners, viands, and *bian* 籩 and *dou* 豆 were used; if the offerings prescribed in China were not to be found in Ryūkyū, local substitutes were used. A three-day preparatory abstinence was required; on the day of the sacrifice, the king sent [*ken* 遣] a *shikin taifu* for the rite to Confucius’ father; the *hōshikan* 法司官 (minister of law) for the rite to Confucius himself.²⁰ The liturgy was up-to-

15. Nakazato, *Ryūkyūkoku yuraiki*, 185.

16. *Ibid.*, 184-85.

17. For a short biography, see Smits, *Visions of Ryukyu*, 62-69.

18. *Ibid.*, 64.

19. Xu, *Zhongshan juanxin lu*, 307. For the Jiajing reform, see *WOC*, 146.

20. *Ibid.*, 304.

date; prescribed for participants were the three genuflections (*sanki* 三跪) and nine kowtows (*kyūkōtō* 九叩頭), a feature of the Kangxi *shidian* liturgy.²¹

From 1719, these rituals were performed against the background of an officially instituted educational institution and examinations. In his report, Xu Baoguang, noted that the residents of Kumemura had an examination-based system of promotion by merit; *shūsai* 秀才 (superior talent) examinations were held in the twelfth month of every year, leading to the rank of *oyakata* 親方 (lord; senior official). They were the main source of Ryūkyū Confucian-educated officialdom.²² Thus the ceremony sacralized, and worked in synergy with, the newly introduced merit-based selection procedures and office holding in the kingdom.

During the eighteenth century, Ryūkyū continued along the path of Sinicization of its elite political culture. A vivid glimpse of the ceremony is found in the account of a Chinese visitor, Li Dingyuan 李鼎元 (1750–1805) *Shi Liuchiu ji* 使琉球記 (Record of embassy to Ryūkyū), an account of a mission undertaken in 1800 (published 1802).

[1800]/viii/7. Fine.

On the first day of the eighth month, the following instructions were issued to the minister of law and others: because it is the time of the *ding* festival, you should explain the ceremonial directives and hold a practice of the rite. You should also put out a procurement missive (*kandingishu* 勘定書) to prepare each category of offering such as the ox, sheep, and pig. At the fifth watch of today, I went to the Wenmiao 文廟, and the same kind of festival was observed as in China. Eight Liuchiu officials with purple hats, sixteen with yellow hats, twenty-four students with scarlet hats, and two soldier escorts participated in this festival.²³

Meanwhile, however, a serious structural confrontation had developed within the elite Confucian world of Ryūkyū. Unlike the other tensions and conflicts that dominated the country's history, this did not directly concern foreign relationships or national identity; it was rather a

21. See *WOC* chapter 7, subsection: “The Qing emperors as heads of the national cult of Confucius.”

22. Xu, *Zhongshan juanxin lu*, 290-91; cf. Smits, *Visions of Ryukyu*, 40-41.

23. Li, *Shi Liuchiu ji*, 307.

domestic contest for control over the Confucian bureaucracy itself. On the one hand stood an empowered monarchy, its authority enhanced in the latter half of the eighteenth century by royal ancestral cults in the Chinese manner. The monarch at this time was the boy king Shō On 尚温 (r. 1795–1802), under whom an attempt was made to expand recruitment to the bureaucracy beyond the Kumemura community. On the other hand was the hereditarily constituted Kumemura Confucian community from which the bureaucracy was traditionally recruited and which, in Smits's words, had come to “dominate Ryūkyū's domestic policies as well as diplomacy.”²⁴ Perhaps, as Smits suggests, Kumemura was the victim of its own success in promoting Confucian meritocratic ideals. However, the movement to expand the Confucian community was strongly opposed by the Kumemura Confucians. Kumemura lost the struggle that ensued. Symbolically, in 1798 Shō On initiated the founding of a new school in Shuri, initially housed in a temporary “school hall” (*gakusha* 学舎) outside the Shuri palace.

This confrontation between king and Confucian community is one instance of the tension between monarch and bureaucrats that, as has been a theme of this book, animated the metropolitan rite in China, Korea, and probably also in Vietnam. Whereas in those countries, the tension was contained within the ceremony's liturgical framework, in Ryūkyū it had a dramatically different outcome. The king and court wanted a national academy, no doubt on the model of the Chinese State Academy Directorate; they wished to reconstitute and broaden the basis for access to office. The king is said to have wanted to include a shrine in his new school.²⁵ He must have looked to the rite to sacralize the new institution and, possibly, to reconcile contending interests. The leader of the Kumemura Confucians, by contrast, objected to any national role for the new school. He wished to consign it to a subordinate, even possibly unofficial, status and function: “The school you are constructing . . . is in fact more like the academies (*shoin* 書院) in each district of China. . . . If you call it a *shoin*, it would correspond to the Chinese *shoin*, which we humbly think would be most appropriate.”²⁶ If, however, there was ever any chance that the new school and a Confucian rite conducted there might somehow solve

24. Smits, *Visions of Ryukyu*, 89.

25. Ba, *Shuri shinken seibyō hibun*, 169.

26. Text from Makijina Ankō, *Okinawa kyōiku shiryō*, Naha: Okinawa Shoseki Hanbaisha, 1965, 121, quoted in Smits, *Visions of Ryukyu*, 138.

Ryūkyū's structural problem through Victor Turner's "communitas," that was vitiated. The tension remained unresolved. By the time that Li Dingyuan saw the Kumemura rite in spring 1800, there had taken place what one might call liturgical schism:

The king follows a precedent whereby he sets up an altar outside the royal headquarters (*ōfu* 王府) and performs the ritual there, so he did not attend [the Kumemura rite].²⁷

The result was two *shidian* ceremonies within proximity of each other; one an established, conservative ceremony for the hereditary Confucian community of Kumemura; the other, a new royal ceremony, expressing autocratic monarchical power. If the founding of his school and staging of the ceremony was some sort of partial victory for the king, however, it was pyrrhic. He died in 1802, rumored to have been poisoned, having seen the building of a permanent "national school" (*kokugaku* 国学), but without a shrine.

Financial difficulties and a general economic decline of the kingdom delayed the liturgical project. Nearly four decades later, however, in 1837, a shrine to Confucius and another to his father "inside the Irindō 彝倫堂 school" were eventually built. It was established that "on a *ding* day of the second months of spring and autumn [the monarch himself] will personally perform the *sekiten* and send the minister of law to the shrine to Confucius' father" to the edification of "the people and gentlemen of Shuri."²⁸ Meanwhile, the Kumemura community progressively lost influence and prestige. But the tension between bureaucrat and monarch seems not to have been resolved on a meaningful scale; the split was too deep to be reconciled by liturgical means. The vision of such Confucians as Tei Junsoku of an at least quasi-independent Ryūkyūan kingdom, a participant in a universal Confucian order but founded on the Kumemura Confucian community, was not to be realized. In 1879, Japan annexed Ryūkyū, the kingdom was abolished, and the king, Shō Tai 尚泰 (r. 1848–79), was forced to abdicate.

The Ryūkyūan ceremony had a short history compared with those of Korea, Vietnam and Japan. The cult of Confucius was pursued colorfully and with passion. Its history exposes several themes that offer a paradigm of the formation of the cult as it spread not only among the Sinitic polities of East Asia but also in Japan. First, initiation of the ceremony was often

27. Li, *Shi Liuqiu ji*, 307.

28. Ba, *Shuri shinken seibyō hibun*, 169.

unofficial and apolitical, as in Kumemura. Native Chinese emigrant communities or individuals of Chinese emigrant descent were often agents of the diffusion of the ceremony. Just as the Kumemura Chinese emigrant community provided the context for the early rite, so, in western Japan, in Saga the ceremony derived from the individual initiative of an emigrant descended Chinese such as Taketomi Rensai; in Nagasaki, the ceremony was stimulated by the presence of the Chinese merchant community. At an elite level, individual expatriate Chinese such as Zhu Shunsui or Chen Yuanyun were often bearers of liturgical knowledge that facilitated adoption of the ceremony.

Internally, as also most strikingly in Korea, the ceremony was performed at the interface or fault line between monarch and bureaucracy. More broadly, externally (or internationally) and in diplomatic terms, just as in Korea, Vietnam, and from time to time in Japan also, performance of the ceremony itself and choice of offering and scale made a symbolic gesture, a means of proclaiming and sacralizing the dignity and autonomous status of a polity that participated in the universal Sinitic order, but at the same time stood in a relationship of cultural dependence on China.

Abbreviations

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