

The Interpretation and Reconstruction of the Process of the Japanization of Confucianism: A Case Study on the Kyoto Faction of Zhu Xi Studies in Tokugawa Japan

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ABSTRACT

The concept of the ‘Japanization of Confucianism’ took shape during the Meiji 明治 period (1868–1912 C.E.), reached its highest point of development in Tokugawa Japan (1603–1868), and is epitomized by the rise of the Kyoto faction (*Kyō-gakuha* 京學派) of Zhu Xi studies (*Shushi-gaku* 朱子學). However, due to the underestimation of Japanese Zhu Xi studies by scholars like Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 from the early twentieth century onward, the Kyoto faction *ipso facto* has been largely eclipsed in the history of the study of Japanese Confucianism. In light of this, the present article investigates the representative scholars in the Kyoto faction to uncover the dynamic process of Confucianism’s penetration into Japanese society. A multiple-dimension study is conducted to dissect varied approaches to promoting the Japanization of Confucianism, including the vernacularization and sanctification of Confucianism in Japan. This article seeks to redefine the role of the Kyoto faction in the transmission of Confucianism across East Asia.

KEYWORDS

Japanization of Confucianism, Kyoto faction, Zhu Xi studies, Japanese Confucianism

INTRODUCTION

Confucianism is a unified theory including ways of thinking, writing, behaving, and practicing that was closely associated with the imperial regime during the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E. – 220 C.E.) of ancient China (Paramore 2016: 5). In the Song dynasty (960–1279), Confucianism emerged in a new form known as Neo-Confucianism. As Peter K. Bol (2008: 3) writes, Neo-

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Confucianism as ‘a movement that from the twelfth century into the seventeenth profoundly influenced the way people understood the world around them and made choices about how to respond to that world’ and thus ‘it is of great historical consequence.’ Confucianism is a major component of the Chinese civilization that has profoundly penetrated East Asian countries culturally and politically. Commenting on Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), probably the most famous of all the Neo-Confucians, Wing-tsit Chan (1963: 588) said that he ‘gave Confucianism new meaning and for centuries dominated not only Chinese thought but the thought of Korea and Japan as well.’ Confucianism played a decisive role throughout the course of the Joseon 朝鮮 dynasty (1392–1910) and the regime took Confucianism as its guiding ideology and culture mainstay (Ivanhoe 2016: 71). Likewise, Confucianism contributed greatly to the Japanese nation as a part of the modernization that began during the Meiji 明治 period (Nakajima 2018: 88). Since the notion of the ‘Japanization of Confucianism’ was proposed in the Meiji period, research on this topic largely emerged from the Meiji period onwards (Wu 2015). However, the process of Japanization of Confucianism is traceable to as early as the Edo period (1603–1868), particularly the Zhu Xi studies in the Edo period epitomized by the Kyoto faction, which has been rarely studied by modern scholars. As Beatrice Bodart-Bailey (1997: 660) notes, ‘Tracing the influence and development of Confucianism in Japan is a complex task.’ For instance, in recent years, studies exploring the process of the Japanization of Confucianism have gradually become a prominent scholarly topic in the field of Japanese intellectual history. The current popular view still supports the stance of Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 and Maruyama Masao 丸山真男, who highlighted the Japanized aspect of Japanese Confucianism and downplayed the impact of Chinese Confucianism, amounting to a biased desinicization and decentralization. Although this interpretation highlights the ‘Japaneseness’ characteristic of Japanese Confucianism, it separates Japanese Confucianism from its roots in original Chinese Confucianism. For example, as William Theodore de Bary (1981: 188) has noted, ‘[i]n the Japanese case, moreover, the specific forms of Neo-Confucianism which became influential in the seventeenth century did not themselves represent a direct inheritance from the Sung [Song 宋].’ In light of the foregoing issue, the present article seeks to explore the historical process of Confucianism’s penetration into and its transmission from China to its neighboring countries by revealing the multi-layered influence that Confucianism has exerted on Japanese society ever since Tokugawa Japan and by reconstructing the historical process of the Japanization of Confucianism. This reconstruction will help to dissolve the compartmentalization between Japanese Confucianism and Chinese Confucianism. It can also help to transcend the intellectual antithesis between Chinese Confucianism and Japanese Confucianism during the Meiji period and mirror the interrelated and intertwined relationship between the two Confucianisms. As a historical process, the Japanization of Confucianism is a process in which the ‘other’ Confucianism was accepted and assimilated by Japanese society to achieve a state of localization and vernacularization. This essay aims to examine the vernacularization and sanctification aspects of Confucianism in Japan among the varied elements in the process of the Japanization of Confucianism. Furthermore, this essay argues that the contribution of the Zhu Xi studies in the Edo period epitomized by the Kyoto faction promoted the transmission of Confucianism in Japan and facilitated the precipitation of Confucianism as a historical layer (*kosō* 古層) of Japanese indigenous culture.



I. PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY OF THE JAPANIZATION OF CONFUCIANISM

As Martin Collcutt (1991: 113–114) writes, ‘for many Western intellectual historians of Japan, and for some Japanese scholars, Confucianism does not loom as a significant influence until the growth of the Neo-Confucian and the Ancient Learning schools of thought in the seventeenth century under the Tokugawa shogunate.’ Among those differing schools of thought, the Kyoto faction¹ together with the Southern Learning faction (*Nan-gaku* 南學), which honored Zhu Xi studies² as its orthodox doctrine, constituted the two major factions of Zhu Xi studies in Tokugawa Japan (Kondō 1985: 176). Before moving on to analytical discussions of issues pertinent to the Kyoto faction, it is of crucial significance to first delimit the concept of it at the outset:

The Kyoto faction refers to a Zhu Xi studies school of Confucianism that emerged in Tokugawa Japan with Kyoto as its scholarly center. With Fujiwara Seika 藤原惺窩 (1561–1619) as the founder, scholars like Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657), Kan Tokuan 菅得庵 (1581–1628), Hori Kyōan 堀杏庵 (1585–1643), Matsunaga Sekigo 松永尺五 (1592–1657), and Naba Kassho 那波活所 (1595–1648) comprised the backbone force of the Kyoto faction. Besides, Matsunaga Sekigo’s disciples like Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725) and Muro Kyūsō 室鳩巢 (1658–1734) were essential contributors as well. In contrast to the Han Dynasty exegetical approach, the Kyoto faction adopted the new exegetical approach of Song dynasty Confucians.³

To recapitulate, the Kyoto faction, as one of the mainstreams of Zhu Xi studies in Japan, is a Confucian school that originated in Kyoto that revered Zhu Xi’s commentaries as the orthodox interpretation of Confucianism. The Kyoto faction was established by Fujiwara Seika followed by an abundance of outstanding scholars, marking not only the beginnings of Edo intellectual history but exerting a great influence on subsequent intellectual schools as well. Nonetheless, ever since the influential scholar Inoue Tetsujirō’s disparaging evaluation, the Kyoto faction has not been well received and has been largely eclipsed in Japanese Confucian scholarship:

No matter how many factions there are in Zhu Xi studies schools, they are extremely monotonous and homogeneous. There is nothing but narration and repetition of Zhu Xi’s teachings. If one had dared to criticize Zhu Xi’s teachings, or put forward one’s teachings different from Zhu Xi’s teachings, he or she would have been expelled from the Zhu Xi

¹ Note that the Kyoto faction (*Kyō-gakuha* 京學派) is different from the Kyoto school (*Kyoto-gakuha* 京都學派) which incorporated Western philosophical and religious ideas into Japanese traditions in pre-WWII Japan.

² Zhu Xi studies is usually referred to as Cheng-Zhu *lixue* 程朱理學 or just *lixue* 理學 in China and Neo-Confucianism in English-language literature.

³ Kondō 1985: 176: [京学]江戸時代、京都を中心に興起した朱子学派儒学の一派。藤原惺窩を祖として、林羅山・菅得庵・堀杏庵・松永尺五・那波活所などが継起し、尺五の門人木下順庵の門からは新井白石・室鳩巢が出た。漢代古注学に対して宋時新注学をとり、朱子学を経学の正路として、南学と共に朱子学派の二大系統をなした。All translations of Japanese and Chinese materials are my own unless otherwise noted.



studies school. If one wanted to become a member of Zhu Xi studies school, one could only faithfully worship Zhu Xi's teachings. In other words, one became only Zhu Xi's spiritual slave. Therefore, the teachings of Zhu Xi studies school cannot avoid a sense of sameness.⁴

If Inoue's comments are viewed in the context of the 'de-sinicization' of Japanese Confucianism since the Meiji period, and the Japanese Zhu Xi studies, especially the Kyoto faction in the early Tokugawa Japan, are construed only as a spiritual slave of Zhu Xi, that is to say, it lacks the sense of de-sinicization or lacks enough intention to publicize the particularity of so-called Japaneseness, then Inoue's 'sameness' comment does possess a logical self-consistency. However, this evaluation's neglect of the historical process of 'Japanization of Confucianism' and its deliberate avoidance or even rejection of the 'China' factor may lead to a deviation in the overall understanding of the history of Japanese Confucianism and an underestimation of the far-reaching Kyoto faction during Tokugawa Japan by academics since Inoue Tetsujirō.

Technically speaking, the Japanization of Confucianism is traceable mainly to Tokugawa Japan, but it was discussed as a clear topic only since the Meiji period. While in a broader sense the inception of the transmission of Confucianism in Japan dates to before Tokugawa Japan, the earlier transmission of Confucianism in Japan was not pervasive in society and was only restricted to the aristocratic sphere. This article seeks not to conduct a quantitative analysis of the influence of Confucianism on Japan but to focus on the transmission of Confucianism in the Edo period in which Confucianism began to be popularized in Japanese society. However, this popularization process was mixed with quandaries that the Kyoto faction endeavored to resolve, as evidenced by the literature of the Kyoto faction. Wu Zhen 吳震 has summarized this state of affairs: 'Needless to say, the Japanization of Confucianism is a later concept, which was originally used to examine Edo Confucianism. From the perspective of academic history, the Japanization of Confucianism as an academic term was coined probably by Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰, a nationalist and an advocate of the "theory of freedom and civil rights" in the late 19th century and early 20th century.'⁵ In Sohō's view, the Japanization of Confucianism is a fact that is beyond doubt:

In other words, although Confucianism is not openly Shintoized, there is no doubt that it is Japanized. When Japanization reaches its apex, it evokes a feeling of venerating the indigenous and downplaying the other, which foreshadows the expulsion of the barbarism movement and becomes a justification that is not anything like a cold hard theory but shares a bitter hatred like the shogunate towards the other instead and will burn like religious fervor at the touch of the hand.⁶

⁴ Inoue 1937: 598: 朱子學派は其中に尚ほ幾多の分派あるに拘らず、洵に單調なり、「ホモチニオス」なり、朱子の學説を敘述若し敷衍するの外復たなす所なきなり、若し大膽に朱子の學説を批評し、若くは其れ以外に自己の創見を開くが如き態度に出づとせば、最早朱子學派の人にあらざるなり、苟も朱子學派の人たらんには、唯々忠實に朱子の學説を崇奉せざるべからず、換言すれば、朱子の精神的奴隸たらざるべからず、是故に朱子學派の學説は殆んど千篇一律の感あるを免れず。

⁵ Wu Zhen 吳震 2015: 7–8: 不待說，“儒教日本化”顯然是一個後設的概念，最初是用來考察江戶儒學的一種設定。從學術史的角度看，“儒教日本化”作為學術用語，最早可能是出自19世紀末20世紀初“自由民權論”者及民族主義者徳富蘇峰（1863—1957）之口。

⁶ Sohō 2001: 34: あるいは公然儒教思想が神道化せざるまでも、その日本化したるは、相違もなき事なり。日本化の極は一種尊卑外の感情を喚起し、後來攘夷の運動の伏線となり、大義名分は、何となく幕府に対する敵愾心の標幟の如く、今は既に冷硬なる理窟にあらず、触れば將に手を爛焼せんとする宗教的赤熱を帯び来れり。



Given Sohō's interpretation, the Japanization of Confucianism implies a certain degree of integration between Confucianism and Japanese native ideology, particularly Shinto 神道. While the phrase 'Japanization of Confucianism' was coined by Sohō, this process is traceable to at least as early as the Edo period. Besides, this historical notion is not fully original either as the idea of Shinto-Confucian integration was discussed previously by founders of the Kyoto faction like Fujiwara Seika and Hayashi Razan. Through this Japanized Confucianism gained religious strength which has played a considerable role in promoting the process of modernization of Japan. From this point of view, the formulation of the Japanization of Confucianism has included a position of heterogeneity from the original Confucianism in China from the date of its birth. Although Meiji Japan was rife with various ideologies and doctrines, a scenario portrayed as 'hundreds of ghosts at night walk' (百鬼夜行), the stance of heterogeneity seems consistent in almost all doctrines including the Japanized Confucianism theory by Takeuchi Yoshio 武内義雄, the 'State Church' doctrine promoted by Motoda Nagazane 元田永孚, which involves moral traits like benevolence, righteousness, courtesy, modesty, loyalty, filial piety and integrity, the 'Japanese Morality' theory by Nishimura Shigeki 西村茂樹, the 'National Morality' theory advocated by Inoue Tetsujirō, and the 'Japanization of Foreign Religion' doctrine emphasized by Nishi Shinichiro 西晋一郎. Generally speaking, the continuous compartmentalization of Japanese Confucianism and Chinese Confucianism has become an internal mechanism of Japanized Confucianism. If the compartmentalization between Japanese Confucianism and Chinese Confucianism is regarded as a progressive process that is constantly proceeding, then the following four dimensions can be used as an important cross-section to pinpoint this process:

First, the introduction of the Western concept of 'philosophy' to transform traditional Confucianism. Starting with the translation of 'philosophy' as *tetsugaku* 哲學 instead of *rigaku* 理學 (the Chinese term for what English calls 'Neo-Confucianism') by Nishi Amane 西周, followed by the translation and systematic introduction of Western philosophy by Japanese scholars such as Inoue Tetsujirō, 'Western philosophy' became the medium through which traditional Confucian classics studies transformed into 'Chinese philosophy'. Although this has promoted the establishment of the 'History of Chinese philosophy' as a modern discipline, compared with the official role of Zhu Xi studies since the Tokugawa era, it has actually downgraded the exclusive role of Confucianism since the Kansei Prohibition of Heterodoxy (*Kansei igaku-no-kin* 寛政異学の禁) of 1790 which enforced the teachings of Zhu Xi studies as the official Confucian philosophy of Japan.

Second, the establishing of the academic lineage of Japanese Wang Yangming studies (*Yomei-gaku* 陽明學). 'As a modern discipline, *Yomei-gaku* is a typical Japan-made Chinese phrase and it first appeared in Japan in the 1880s and 1890s.'⁷ Miyake Setsurei 三宅雪嶺 not only constructed the genealogy of Japanese *Yomei-gaku* but also advocated that *Yomei-gaku* be the driving force of the Japanese Meiji Restoration. Takase Takejiro 高瀬武次郎 further separated Japan's *Yomei-gaku* from China's Wang Yangming studies, contending that Japan has inherited the enterprising nature of *Yomei-gaku* while China has its Zen nature. On the other hand, Inoue Tetsujirō repackaged the Japanese *Yomei-gaku* as a philosophical system thereby granting it official recognition as a scholarly discipline.

Third, the foundation of the Ancient Learning school (*Kogaku* 古學派) that advocated a return to the Confucian classics themselves to combat the Zhu Xi studies school. The term 'Ancient

⁷ Deng 2015: 153: 作為一門近代學科的名稱, "陽明學" 是個典型的 "和制漢語", 出現於19世紀80、90年代的日本。



Learning' in the history of Japanese Confucianism was coined by Inoue, and the three representative scholars in Tokugawa Japan were Yamaga Sokō 山鹿素行, Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁齋 and Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠. It is believed that although the three of them have different scholarly interests, they all promoted Confucian classics studies that differed drastically from Zhu Xi studies and *Yōmei-gaku* and which represent activism, the unique spirit of the Japanese nation.

Fourth, establishing an illustrated Japanese modern mode of thinking. Although the antithesis structured by Maruyama Masao between Chinese Neo-Confucianism and Japanese Ancient Learning or Japanese National Learning studies has received much criticism from ensuing scholars, this approach to understanding the mappings of the Tokugawa intellectual history still enjoys a major role in Japanese intellectual history.

While each of the aforementioned aspects merits comprehensive discussions of their own, while the present article does not seek to do expand on this topics, the glimpse provided through the above outline alone is enough to reveal the profundity and complexity of the antithesis and compartmentalization between Chinese Confucianism and Japanese Confucianism. In brief, even though the academic sphere has reached a basic consensus on the connotation and extension of the topic of the Japanization of Confucianism, and by deeply excavating the Japaneseness factors in this process has fully demonstrated the changes that have taken place since Confucianism's introduction into Japan, however, it is not difficult to find that the scholarship on the Japanization of Confucianism, from its inception, has a strong tendency toward desinicization, a tendency that has been continuously consolidated through theoretical construction. Finally, this tendency leads to the absence of Chinese Confucianism in the Japanization of Confucianism and this kind of absence exists not only in the Japanese academic sphere, but profoundly affects Taiwan and mainland Chinese scholarship as well. This biased scholarly tendency is not conducive to the reconstruction of the process of the Japanization of Confucianism and negatively informs the veracity and validity of its scholarly value. While the existing literature stresses the other nature of Chinese Confucianism compared to Japanese Confucianism, this article argues that it is more meaningful to reevaluate how and why the 'other' Chinese Confucianism has gradually become the intellectual resource for Japanese Confucianism.

Based on the above analysis, this article will go back to the root and will examine the process of Japanization of Confucianism from a perspective focused on Kyoto faction. From the perspective of Confucianism or the perspective of Zhu Xi studies, this article touches on the following questions: when Zhu Xi studies entered Japan with Japanese Zen monks, how did it become Japanese? When Zhu Xi studies was finally vernacularized in Japan, did it also accumulate multi-faceted scholarly layers? With these two questions, this article will seek to delineate the overall structure of the progressive penetration of Confucianism into Japanese society in Tokugawa Japan through the dual dimensions of vernacularization and sanctification in the process of the Japanization of Confucianism.

II. THE VERNACULARIZATION OF JAPANESE CONFUCIANISM

The Kyoto faction was at the turning point of Japanese Confucianism from medieval Japan to modern times. The primary problem faced by Zhu Xi studies scholars of the Kyoto faction was how to facilitate Zhu Xi studies to be grounded in Japanese society. With this purpose as their goal, the Confucians of the Kyoto faction promoted the dissemination of Confucianism in Japan



in various ways. This project of popularizing Confucianism can also be seen as a process of the vernacularization of Japanese Confucianism. Besides, since the populace was more prone to simplicity rather than complexity, this process was also a process of simplifying Confucianism. In this sense, the generalization, vernacularization, and simplification of Confucianism in Japan form a trinity despite their differing functions: generalization as the purpose, vernacularization as the trend of development, and simplification as the form of expression. In order to connect this with the Kyoto faction scholars' promotion of Zhu Xi studies, we need to find meaningfully representative landmarks.

The first landmark is the introduction and application of Japanese-punctuated reading (*kunten* 訓点) of Neo-Confucian writings. It is self-evident that language not only involves the presentation of ideas but it is also one of the most important carriers of cultural communication. For this reason, we can set the origin of Japanese Confucianism in Fujiwara Seika's Japanized punctuated reading (*wakun* 和訓) of Neo-Confucian writings including the Four Books. Japanese-punctuated reading of Chinese writings, as an approach for the Japanese to study Chinese classics, had been popular long before the era of Fujiwara Seika. The Japanese-punctuated reading centered on the classic Four Books of Neo-Confucianism is generally believed to have been initiated by Kiyō Hōshū 岐陽方秀 and completed by Keian Genju 桂庵玄樹 (Yan 2009: 56–57). Generally speaking, Japanese-punctuated reading of the Four Books before Tokugawa Japan was relatively limited in scope, but ever since Fujiwara Seika, Japanese-punctuated reading of Neo-Confucian writings, particularly the commentaries of the Four Books, expanded at an unprecedented level. With the advent of Japanese-punctuated reading of Chinese writings, texts such as Seika's punctuated reading⁸ and Razan's punctuated reading, the Japanese Confucians established a preliminary understanding of the Neo-Confucian writings. While there were different understandings of the Neo-Confucian classics with the emergence of various Japanized punctuated readings, these contesting versions of punctuated readings had the effect of promoting the Japanese Confucian scholars' interpretation of the Neo-Confucian classics across Japan. More importantly, while the classical Chinese writings after being annotated with Japanese-punctuations were still dominated by Chinese characters on the surface, the word order, grammar, and even pronunciation were all Japanized using punctuated readings and sentence complements. Koyasu Nobukuni 子安宣邦 has pointed out that

The so-called Japanese-punctuated reading is an explanatory interpretation of the written classical Chinese. The tonetics of Japanese-punctuated reading is highly and passively influenced by the original classical Chinese because Japanese-punctuated reading is an after-the-fact work based on the classical Chinese text.⁹

This means that as a result of creating Japanese-punctuated readings, classical Chinese came to comprise a part of the Japanese language. In essence, Japanized Chinese served as the medium for the vernacularization and Japanization of Confucianism.

⁸ For more on the relationship between Seika Japanese-punctuated reading and Bunshi Japanese-punctuated reading, see Nishimura Tenshū 1909.

⁹ Koyasu 2003: 63: 「訓読」とは漢文という書記テキストの解釈的読解としての慣用的な訓み(訓読)の法であり、訓読調の言語とは漢文の和文脈への強いてなされた変容としての訓みから成立する言語である。訓読の作業とは漢文書記テキストを前提にした事後的な作業であり、訓読調の言語とはしたがってこの漢文書記テキストを前提にした訓読作業を通して事後的に成立する言語である。



If Japanese-punctuated reading is the first step to vernacularizing Zhu Xi studies, then the ‘demotion’ of Zhu Xi studies to the Japanese societal level can be regarded as the most monumental step in the Japanization of Confucianism. The ‘demotion’ here does not mean lowering the role of Zhu Xi studies, but to simplify its content to facilitate its dissemination and popularization for the Japanese populace. This phenomenon is not unique to Japan but is a common and necessary way for fitting intellectual ideas into reality. Wang Fansen 王汎森 analyzed the necessity of this relegation:

For many years, I wondered why intellectual ideas could not influence reality. First of all, if the idea is to be put into practice, it is often necessary ‘to demote’ it into a linguistic saying, an aphorism, or something similar. All previous dynasties of Chinese intellectual thought, which had an important influence in the world of daily life, must have experienced a process such as ‘demotion’ -- including a ubiquitous ‘principle of frugality’, which is about reducing complexity and esoteric ideas one step at a time. Later, it may become several concepts or slogans, or fall into the process of constant popularization or rewriting (including figuratively and metaphorically).¹⁰

The various methods of relegating Zhu Xi studies can be seen as methods that Kyoto faction scholars employed to popularize Confucianism among the Japanese population. Specifically, there are mainly four ways of relegation.

The first is the promotion of the ideologicalization of Confucianism, which means the promotion of Confucianism as the official ideology approved by the Tokugawa regime. The reason that ideologicalization can be classified as one of the ways of “demotion” is because ideologicalized Confucianism is more practical and effective than academic Confucianism in achieving simplicity and eschewing the complexity of academic disputes. In the process of promoting the ideologicalization of Confucianism, the Hayashi lineage headed by Hayashi Razan dominated for several generations: Razan, with the support of third-generation general Tokugawa Iemitsu 德川家光, established a family school in Shinobugaoka 忍岡 in 1630. After that, in 1663, fourth-generation general Tokugawa Ietsuna 德川家綱 upgraded the family school into Kōbun Academy (*Kōbun'in* 弘文院), and Hayashi Gahō 林鵈峰 conferred the title of Kōbun Academy Scholar (*Kōbun'in gakushi* 弘文院学士). Hayashi Hōkō 林鳳岡, the third generation of the Hayashi family, moved the family school to Yushima 湯島 where it was called Yushima Seidō 湯島聖堂 (Confucian Temple in Yushima). Hayashi Hōkō was appointed as the Scholarly Magistrate (*daigaku-no-kami* 大學頭) and was finally granted the privileged right of hair-wearing. Thenceforth, the Confucians no longer had to be monk-like in appearance to serve in the shogunate, which means that the Confucian scholar had been officially recognized as one of the government posts. During the period of the seventh-generation Hayashi Kinpō 林錦峯, senior councilor Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 launched the so-called Kansei Prohibition of Heterodoxy in 1790 which banned all the other teachings except Zhu Xi studies thereby establishing Zhu Xi studies as the official philosophy in Japan. As de Bary (2005: 83) writes, ‘The prestige of Neo-Confucianism as an officially favored

¹⁰ Wang 2018: 7. 許多年來，我都困惑於何以思想影響不了現實。首先，思想要落實到現實，往往就要“降一格”成為條文、格言之類的東西。中國歷代思想，凡在日常生活世界中發生重要影響的，一定經歷“降一格”之類的歷程——包括一個無所不在的“儉約原則”，即將相對複雜深奧的思想一階一階地降。後來可能成為幾個概念或幾個口號，或是不停地通俗化或改寫（包括具象化與譬喻化）。



teaching arose in part from its support by leading members of the Tokugawa family.' The Kansei Prohibition of Heterodoxy marked the completion of the ideologicalization of Confucianism in Japan and rendered Zhu Xi studies the orthodoxy of learning and one of the examination evaluation systems in talent recruitment called Gakumon Ginmi Examination (*Gakumon Ginmi* 学問吟味).

The Gakumon Ginmi Examination, as a way of talent evaluation, regardless of its ineffectiveness in comparison to that of the Imperial Examination system in China and Korea, can be viewed as solid evidence that Confucianism had been politicized and institutionalized in Japan:

Among the education policies adopted by Matsudaira Sadanobu and his associates, the fundamentals are more than the ban on differing schools, but the subsequent national examinations and the later implementation of the national management of schools as well. The three are inseparable policies.¹¹

In conclusion, after the Kansei Prohibition of Heterodoxy and the subsequent reform of the education system, Confucianism was officially recognized and fully implemented in Japan thus becoming the orthodox ideology of Japanese society to a certain extent.

The second is the capitalization of Buddhism in interpreting Confucianism. If the Japanized Neo-Confucian texts rendered by Seika are seen as the starting point for Neo-Confucianism beginning to dominate Japanese society, then the Hayashi lineage's promotion of the officialization of Confucianism in Japan can be regarded as a top-down vertical model. At the same time, Matsunaga Sekigo who inherited the mantle of the Seika mainly adopted a bottom-up approach to promote Confucianism into Japanese society. The Confucian propositions of Matsunaga Sekigo are manifested in his work titled *Irinshō* 彝倫抄 (Commentary about Everlasting Human Relations):

The work of *Irinshō* makes use of secular slang to talk about general principles. Why is this? To make it easier for young scholars to understand the dull and difficult; to make it easier for the hectic vendors and merchants to read; to make it easier for those obsessed with heresy and trapped in witchcraft who have heard of the sagely Confucian teachings but are not knowledgeable and talented enough to learn by themselves.¹²

Sekigo wrote the *Irinshō* to describe the general meaning of Confucianism in vernacular terms that can be understood by the secular world. The reason for choosing slang terms is to make Confucianism easy to understand and easy to read for young scholars, vendors, and those who indulge in paganism, which delineates its goal of disseminating Confucianism to ordinary Japanese people at the bottom of society. At that time, the ideology of Buddhism was deeply rooted in Japanese society, and for ordinary Japanese people, the teachings of Buddhism were not only familiar but also easy to accept. Besides, as Richard Bowring (2017: 47) has noted, 'In what sense

¹¹ Ishikawa 1976: 249: 定信及び其の一黨の取つた教育政策の中で根幹をなしたものは、異學の禁と、之に續いて行はれた國家試験と、更に稍々遅れて決行せられた學校の國家的管理と、この三者であつた。三者は後に段々述べるが如く三位一體の政策であつて、互に切離して考へることは出来ない。

¹² Matsunaga 1975: 330: 《彝倫抄》之為作也、叨以世俗之俚語廣說綱常之大猷。何也者？為童蒙書生困倦于佶屈聱牙之易悟，販夫鬻徒無暇于佔 勉學者之易誦，俾庸夫迷異教頑夫陷妖術者，知有天敘天秩之典禮性命道德之名教，更匪為博聞宏才之士也。



did Cheng-Zhu Confucianism offer a challenging alternative to Buddhism? The commentaries took what was in essence a set of practical and moral guidelines for personal and public life, prescriptive ethics that emerged from the dialogues in the *Analects* and Mencius, and give it a metaphysical underpinning.¹³ Hence, Sekigo decided to use the teachings of Buddhism as the medium to popularize the thought of Confucianism to the public: 'At present, since Buddhism is prosperous in this country, if the teachings of Buddhism are properly utilized, the teachings of Confucianism will be easy to practice.'¹³ Based on this strain of thought, Sekigo first promoted the role of the Three Fundamental Bonds (*san'gang* 三綱) in Confucianism with the help of the life of the Buddha:

Lord Buddha was also the son of Śuddhodana and grew up in the palace, and this is the fundamental bond between the monarch and minister. As far as Śuddhodana is concerned, it is the fundamental bond between father and son. In terms of Yasodhara, it is the fundamental bond between husband and wife. Do not deviate from the Three Fundamental Bonds.¹⁴

In addition, Sekigo applied Buddhist teachings to interpret the concepts in Confucianism as well. For instance, as for 'benevolence', Sekigo (1975: 305) not only used Zhu Xi's exegesis that 'the so-called benevolent person means the virtue of heart, the principle of love. One is born with enough of such nature (仁トハ「心之徳、愛之理」ト云心ナリ);' but he further made analogies with the teachings of Buddhism:

For example, benevolence is roughly akin to the following two pieces of Buddhist dharma: Buddha-nature is an inherent potency that resides in every single being; Directly pointing to the human mind and achieving Buddhahood by seeing one's nature. Hence, since the benevolence of the heart is the same as that of the sage, what is the purpose of learning? Although this benevolent heart exists, either confined to lust or blinded by temperament, evil thoughts emerge and one does not show pity nor show grief when needed. To some point, one insults the emperor and betrays the family. Confucianism is the right way to deal with it.¹⁵

Since the phrases that Sekigo used are roughly similar, it shows that he was not unaware of the exact differences between Confucianism and Buddhism. But considering the scenario in which Buddhism prospered and Confucianism floundered in Japan at that time, to capitalize on Buddhism in interpreting Confucianism was an effective strategy for promoting the dissemina-

¹³ Matsunaga 1975: 305: 今此国仏法繁昌ナレバ、仏法ノ教ニツイテ、儒道ノイヨイヨ行ヒヤスキ所アル義ヲ申スベシ。

¹⁴ Matsunaga 1975: 305: 釈尊モ淨飯王ノ御子ニシテ、宮中ニソダチタマヘバ、君臣ノ道アリ。羅獲護羅アレバ父子ノ道アリ。耶輪陀羅女マシヤセバ夫婦ノ道アリ。三綱ノ道ヲバハナレタマハザルナリ。

¹⁵ Matsunaga 1975: 330: タトヘバ仏法ニ「人人具足、箇箇円成」「直指人心、見性成仏」トイヘルモ粗相似タリ。カクノゴトク、本心ノ仁ハ聖人ト同ジキニ、ナニヲ学問ヲスルゾト申セバ、ソノ仁心ハアリナガラ、或ハ欲心ニヒカサレ、或ハ氣質ノウケヤウアシクアリテ、邪念悪心ガキザシテ、アハレムベキコトヲモアハレマズ、カナシムベキコトヲモカナシマズ、君ヲアナドリ親ヲソムクニイタルコトナリ。ソコヲナサントメノ儒ノ教ヘナリ。



tion of Confucianism because, in the context of cultural communication theory, there is a deeper understanding of the necessity of seeking common ground while reserving differences.

The third is the setting up of the paradigm of Confucianism. In cross-cultural transmission, there will always be mutual convergence and collision between heterogeneous cultures during which human beings as individuals persist as the subject of cultural transmission. How to internalize the culture as other, and similarly hereinafter to the person, that is, 'internalization' (*J. mini tsuke* 身につけ), also became one of the topics of concern among Japanese scholars. From this perspective, we can revisit the significance of the *Akō gishi* 赤穂義士 (The loyal samurai of Akō) written by Muro Kyūsō in terms of Confucianism edification:

Izan said, 'Reviewing the scholars in our nation who excel at Neo-Confucianism, the first ones are Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇齋 (1619–1682) and Nakamura Tekisai 中村惕斎 (1629–1702). While Ansai cannot digest profoundly and Tekisai is not diligent enough, only master Muro Kyūsō elegantly combines their merits. At that time, people like Ogyū Sorai sprang up and pagan teachings were rampant, and master Muro Kyūsō expelled heresy to support the holy Way so that scholars knew where to follow. The reason why Confucianism was not devastated is the endeavors of master Muro Kyūsō. At that time, there was an act of vengeance on Ako's remaining courtiers, and Confucians and scholars could not decide whether it was righteous or not. Master Muro Kyūsō impulsively wrote the *Akō gijin roku* 赤穂義人録 (Record of the Loyal Samurai of Akō), recording the facts and praising the samurai. So, the evaluation was finally determined, and up to now the name of the righteous samurai can be known by both children and servants. If master Muro Kyūsō did not remember the deeds, can things be like this? Alas! Isn't it magnificent for master Muro Kyūsō to make great achievements in his learning and career?'¹⁶

This points out the way that Muro Kyūsō advocated Confucianism: in addition to his rejection of pagan teachings, his magnum opus the *Akō gijin roku* was accentuated as his historical achievements. This work was written after the shogun's edict declaring these samurai to be *ronin*, so it received much criticism at that time:

As for samurais in the Akō Incident, the court has already delivered a verdict on them but I [Muro Kyūsō] extolled their deeds, exalted their behaviors and glorified them as righteous samurai. Despite their virtuous aspiration, should they be judged by personal and private opinions rather than official judiciary authorities?¹⁷

¹⁶ Sugihara 1910: 6–7: 夷山氏曰：「顧我邦醇於洛閩之學者，皆推山崎闇齋、中村惕斎二老，而闇齋乏從容涵泳之功，惕斎少苦心力索之務，獨先生彬々善集其成。當時徂徠之徒輩出，異說熾起，先生卓然力排異端，以扶聖道，使學者知所歸嚮。斯道之所以不墜于地者，實先生之力也。在時恰有赤穂遺臣復仇之舉，儒生學士，論義不義，紛紜不決。先生慨然著《義人錄》，記其事實，稱贊之。於是議論始定焉，至今義士之名，兒童走卒尚能知之者。先生自非記其事蹟，惡能至于此？嗚呼！先生于學問、于事業，共有大功如此，豈不偉哉！」

¹⁷ Muro 1974: 343: 赤穂諸士，朝廷致之於法。而室子乃張皇其事，顯揚其行，並以義人稱之。其志則善矣，得非立私議非公法乎？



This critic speaks from the standpoint of private opinions and official verdicts, that is, he takes the law of rule as public and the revenge for the monarch as private. However, Muro Kyūsō lays the evaluative foundation on the inner spirit of Confucianism:

On the 14th day of the 12th month of the old Edo calendar (1702), the courtiers of Asano Naganori (1677–1701) took revenge against his enemy Kira Yoshinaka (1641–1703). Their majestic spirit of loyalty and righteousness is unprecedented in previous generations and I contend that his behavior is conducive to the propagation of the teachings of Confucianism.¹⁸

This clearly shows that the purpose of the writing of Muro Kyūsō is to propagate the vengeance of the Akō samurai and to contribute to the doctrine of Confucianism. In this way, the Akō samurai with the spirit of traditional *bushido* in Japan was portrayed as the typical embodiment of Confucian virtues. The reason why they can become heroes in the eyes of the people stems from their spirit of sacrificing life and death for righteousness, and this abstract spirit was concretely expressed through their flesh and blood. Even the most illiterate people were deeply influenced by stories told by word of mouth.

The fourth is the Japanization of the Confucian classics. In Edo Japan, to further the process of weaving Neo-Confucianism into Japanese culture, introductory Japanized Confucianism readings were frequently created by Confucian scholars, notably the *Ekken jikkun* 益軒十訓 (The Ten Precepts of Ekken) written by Kaibara Ekken 貝原益軒. Kaibara once described the meaning of his precepts (*kun* 訓):

The age of a baby is the beginning of life when by nature people are similar and there is no practice. Although we know that the thought has not been initiated, the divergence between good and evil has been divided ever since. It is appropriate to start from here to distinguish between good and evil and guide people with benevolence. This is why we should be prudent at the beginning. If we do not teach early, people will be addicted to desires from the inside and be seduced by vulgarity from the outside when growing older. This is a scenario where human lust prevails and the heavenly principle withers..... Accordingly, preventative measures are the most urgent way to cultivate people. Later generations of children are not properly nurtured. What they have seen and heard usually are all corrupted virtue and degraded ritual proprieties and law. In light of this, I take the liberty to Japanize writings from ancient sages for poor rural children devoid of teachers and saints to read.¹⁹

¹⁸ Tahara 2006: 64: 江戸旧臘十四日、浅野氏旧臣共、君仇上野介殿を討取申候儀。前代未聞、忠義の氣凛々、名教の助益と存じ奉り候。

¹⁹ Kaibara 1911b: 165: 蓋嬰孩之歲、人生之始也、是性相近而未有習之時、雖知思未發、其為善為惡之岐、從此而分矣。辨其毫釐之邪正、而導之以善者宜於此焉。是所以慎始也。苟論教之不早、年稍長則內為嗜好所陷溺、外為流俗所誘惑、人欲肆而天理滅矣。……故教人之法、以豫為急。後世民間小兒之輩、蒙養不正。其平日所見聞習熟、皆是戕賊德性、蔑棄禮法之事而已。予於此乎、不自揣僭率、取古人訓子弟之意、書以國字、欲便窮鄉村童之無師無聖者之玩讀也。



Confucius said, 'By nature people are similar; they diverge as the result of practice.' Based on this aphorism, Kaibara claimed that we should discipline children before they are exposed to external practice so that they will be upright during adulthood. Since Confucian texts are not easy to read and understand for ordinary Japanese people, Kaibara chose to Japanize Confucian classics, that is, to simplify Confucian intellectual thought, so that the core ideas of Confucianism can be presented more concisely, facilitating the acceptance of Confucianism by a wider range of people. While Kaibara simplified Confucian classics for the sake of popularizing Confucianism among the undereducated, this practice does not equate Japanization with simplification because simplification means only the facilitation of the reading of Confucian classics while the core intellectual ideas of the Confucian classics were still being transmitted. Takeda Sadanao 竹田定直 has dissected the profound significance of Kaibara Ekken's precepts:

In his later years, to enlighten the unlettered, Kaibara Ekken was quite productive in creating accessible and practical readings like *Zokkun* 俗訓 (Precepts of Custom) and *Dōjikin* 童子訓 (Precepts for Children). His writings utilize easy-to-read diction and *kana* (Japanese alphabet) so that even people who are illiterate in Chinese characters can easily understand them. His writings combine the sayings of the sage and his understandings to interpret the Five Constant Virtues in folk language so that even when foolish ones read they will discover the root of their conscience and restore their virtues to their original stage.²⁰

As Takeda said, Kaibara Ekken writes Confucian works through *kana* rather than Chinese characters, in order to enlighten the unlettered, that is, to propagate the essence of Confucianism to the general public. Furthermore, his choice of the popular 'precepts' as the literary form also reflects Kaibara's basic view on the teaching of Confucianism:

During teaching practice, we should prioritize the accessible daily constants. The teachings of the sages are based on this. Therefore, there is a stark contrast between accessible scholars and those ostentatious and flamboyant heresy. The teachings of the sages should not be obtuse, which is inappropriate for beginners.²¹

Kaibara regards accessibility as the foundation of the sage's teachings and prioritizes daily constants. This does not mean that Confucianism itself is not profound, but it is because of the situation that Confucianism is still in urgent need of dissemination in Japan; the scholars of the Kyoto faction are in almost total consensus on this. In this sense, 'Kaibara Ekken is a Zhu Xi studies scholar in the early Tokugawa Japan. Rather than saying that Kaibara Ekken expounds Confucianism by reconstructing Zhu Xi studies, it is more appropriate to claim that Kaibara Ekken is a

²⁰ Takeda 1970: 67: 晚年所著尤多，專以導俗喻愚為務，如《俗訓》《童子訓》等書，平易切實，未嘗用巧文麗辭為工，且書以仮字，令夫不識漢字者亦能誦之易通曉矣。頃又攬摭聖賢之遺言，發揮平日自得之緒余，以作為五常之義訓，亦從俗語以述之，用俗字而說之，雖庸劣味愚之輩，誦之則庶乎知良心之根秉彝而得復初之階梯。

²¹ Kaibara 1911a: 4: 教學者，以日用彝倫之平實切近者為先焉，聖人之教本自如此，是學者易曉易入之道，而與異學之徒浮虛貪高而大言者異矣。聖學之訓不要極高極深，蓋高深非所以教初學也。



Confucian based in Japan who accepts Zhu Xi studies and weaves it into the Japanese populace.²² From the perspective of Japanized Confucianism, Tsujimoto Masashi's 辻本雅史 evaluation of Kaibara Ekken is more accurate than that of Maruyama Masao's so-called 'ancient pioneer'.

III. THE SANCTIFICATION OF JAPANESE CONFUCIANISM

In addition to its vernacularization, Confucianism also possessed an inherent religious sacredness which aided its transmission to Japan. As Kiri Paramore (2016: 62) argues, it was the religious aspects of Neo-Confucianism, notably its forms of practice, and perceptions of the meanings of those practices, which crucially facilitated Confucianism's social popularization and impact. After entry into Japan, Confucianism was also referred to as *jukyō* 儒教, where the first character refers to the class of Confucian scholars and the latter refers to a tradition of teachings (it is also found in the modern word for religion: *zongjiao* 宗教) which indicates not only the teachings of Confucianism but its religious sanctity as well. In this regard, the Kyoto faction went to great lengths in solidifying and strengthening the sanctity of Japanese Confucianism. Akin to the many paths of vernacularization of Confucianism in Japan, the aspects of sanctification can also be divided into multiple dimensions. This article will chart, from the perspective of the main activities of the Kyoto faction, the routes of the sanctification of Confucianism in early modern Japan in two respects: the Hayashi lineage's *sekiten* 祀奠 (memorial rites for Confucius) and the Kyoto faction's 'Confucian Shinto' (*juka shintō* 儒家神道) theory.

As a symbol of Confucianism, *sekiten* underwent many changes after it was introduced into Japan and was even once abolished which, to a certain extent, reflects the development of Confucianism into a dead-end before the Tokugawa era. On the other hand, since the time of Fujiwara Seika, the Kyoto faction made great efforts to revive the *sekiten* to honor Confucius. In Japan, the place where the *sekiten* rites were held was the Sacred Hall of Confucius. In this regard, the origin of the *sekiten* rites in the Edo period stems from the Seidō 聖堂 (Confucian Temple) of the Hayashi family. In 1630, Tokugawa Iemitsu bestowed a piece of land in Ueno upon Hayashi Razan to build a schoolhouse and thus Shinobugaoka Seidō 忍岡聖堂 was constructed (Inutsuka 1977: 30), which marks the dawn of Confucian temples in Japan. On February 10th of 1633, Hayashi Razan held an inaugural *sekiten* ceremony in Shinobugaoka Seidō. More importantly, Tokugawa Iemitsu paid an informal visit to Shinobugaoka Seidō where he paid homage to the statue of Confucius and attended lectures by Hayashi Razan on the Confucian classic the *Book of Documents* (Inutsuka 1977: 32). Tokugawa Iemitsu's visit enhanced the role of Seidō in Japan. In light of this, the *sekiten* rites not only reappeared in Edo Japan with Hayashi Razan's effort but also received the approval of the shogun and official funding to a certain extent. Hayashi Gahō, the son of Hayashi Razan, inherited his father's will and furthered the procedures for the *sekiten* rites. Under his auspices, the *sekiten* procedures of 1670 became a paradigm for subsequent ceremonies.

After the efforts of two generations of the Hayashi family, Confucianism attracted much attention from the shogunate in Edo Japan. In the period of the third-generation Hayashi Hōkō, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi 徳川綱吉, the shogun who highly venerated Confucianism, constantly

²² Tsujimoto 2016: 17: 貝原益軒是日本江戸前期の朱子學者。與其僅僅說益軒是一名日本江戸時代的、通過再構建朱子學而展開論述的儒者，倒不如說他是一名立足於日本社會接受朱子學，且將其學問向民眾開放的儒者更顯恰當。



summoned Hōkō to teach on the Confucian classics, frequently participated in the *sekiten* rites at Shinobugaoka Seidō, and awarded Hōkō the honorary title of Scholar of Kōbun Academy to show his reverence for Confucianism. As for the development of Japanese Confucianism, a landmark event was the establishment of the Yushima Seidō decreed by Tokugawa Tsunayoshi:

The Seidō was originally established by Tokugawa Yoshinao 徳川義直 and has been venerated by generations of dynasties, whereas the establishment was not decreed by and the veneration was not fully expressed by the shogunate. Furthermore, the Seidō is situated near Buddhist temples where a plethora of monks thronged the site. Since vice and virtue do not coexist, how can the Seidō and Buddhist temple coexist together? We will select prudently a site to construct a new Seidō to demonstrate the values that the country promotes.²³

The rationale for the construction of the Seidō mentioned by Tsunayoshi shows an obvious purpose to differentiate Confucianism from Buddhism. This differentiation was based on the social and cultural milieu of early Edo Japan when Buddhism was dominant as an ideology and was omnipresent in every corner of life. This scenario is delineated by the enforced tonsure dilemma faced by the pioneering scholars Fujiwara Seika and Hayashi Razan of the Kyoto faction:

The master said, ‘I wear the deep garment, but some Koreans ridiculed saying, “it is appropriate to wear clothes like a deep garment, but why should you be tonsured?” I responded, “I follow the customary culture. When Taibo 泰伯 went into exile in the barbarian region, he shaved his hair and breaking taboo he tattooed his body, and did not the sage still praise him as the most virtuous?” The ridiculer nodded.’ At that time, I paid a visit to Ga’s and asked to model Ga’s deep garment to make a new one. The master accepted it and the next day came with the deep garment and a Confucian robe. I ordered the needlewoman to cut plain cloth and make a deep garment.²⁴

On Lunar New Year’s Eve, I received your honorable order and we brothers have conferred the title of Dharma Seal. It is such an honor! On Lunar New Year’s Day, we paid homage to the court in court dress. We offered treasured swords and horses. Then we made obeisance, advanced, and knelt to drink. After sprinkling the wine, we were granted the imperial costume. What does it mean? It means we are granted the status of superordinate officials. Speaking of the Dharma Seal title, it was originally the role of the monk and now it becomes an official title. We brothers are Confucians, but we followed the national custom to get tonsured for a long time and wore the haircut of his uncle and the local clothes of Confucius. What is the difference between us and Wu Taibo’s tonsure and Confucius’ dressing in barbarian costumes? Why can it hurt? There are sayings about this. Official residences are made into Buddhist temples and even schools are named after Buddhist names. The

²³ Inutsuka 1977: 60–61: 孔廟之設，原創於尾張公，而累朝因以加崇隆然，義不本於朝典，殆有關於盛心，且地逼寺刹，緇流接蹤，夫薰蕕不同器，矧儒佛共境乎？將審擇爽塏鼎新廟殿，以昭國家崇尚之義。

²⁴ Fujiwara 1941: 394: 先生曰：“我衣深衣，朝鮮人或詰之曰‘其衣深衣可也，奈其薙髮何？’我對曰‘此姑從俗耳，泰伯之亡荊蠻也，斷髮文身而聖人不許之至德乎？’詰者領之。”時余請賀氏，借深衣欲製之，先生聽之，翌日深衣道服到，余乃令針工以法裁素布而製深衣。



Buddhist scriptures are permanent and so are the Confucian classics. The sage said, it should be followed timelessly, so they are in Buddhist names. However, the Buddhists use it as a pretext and claim sutras as the classics. Isn't it going against its original nature? The ancient sage had court dress and court diction. As for the Four Books and Six Classics [of Confucian teaching], they are reading methods written on paper and passed on eternally, so the seal of ancient articles passed on by ink is the seal I have taken. It is also appropriate to call it the seal of the heart-mind. Therefore, this conferment is not what we brothers have hoped for. Now if you assess it, isn't it generous to be conferred? Is it from the so-called mandate of heaven?²⁵

Both Fujiwara Seika and Hayashi Razan sought solace in Taibo's tonsure and breaking of taboo during his exile in the barbarian region. This logic of 'following the customary culture' represents the embarrassing situation that Confucianism had not gained a foothold in early Edo Japan. Instead of giving up the role bestowed by the shogunate for the sake of Confucianism, they chose to secretly take advantage of the customs of monks to preach Confucianism, which rendered them unaccepted by the Confucians at the time. Nakae Tōju 中江藤樹 (1940: 123) once published a treatise fiercely satirizing Hayashi Razan because once one shaves his hair, he cannot present himself as a Confucian but is rather a Buddhist: 'In Japan, sages do not appear and instead heterodoxy thrives with each passing day (倭國聖人不作，而異端之教，日新月盛)'. While the concern of Nakae Tōju is not unjustifiable, the Hayashi family far exceeded Nakae Tōju in terms of their understanding of Confucian teachings. The reason for Razan's tonsure is not that he was unwilling to show others that he was a Confucian but instead to show that Buddhism had been advocated by the shogunate for a long time and that there had been a long-term accumulation of the Buddhist customs in the court since medieval Japan, and thus it was not easy for Confucians to accomplish the task of securing official recognition in one stroke. In this regard, the establishment of Yushima Seidō by Shogun Tsunayoshi on the pretext of the coexistence of Confucianism and Buddhism not only signified official support for Confucianism, but it also created an atmosphere of worship of Confucianism among the *daimyo* 大名 (feudal lords) which had a far-reaching impact on the further penetration of Confucianism into Japanese society.

In addition to the *sekiten* rites, a more Japanese characteristic of Confucianism in the process of sanctification is what is known as Confucian Shinto, which represents a mode of thinking. Although Shinto started as an indigenous system of thought, it nevertheless experienced syncretistic fusion with both Buddhism and Confucianism to become a systematic religion and mode of thought. This reflects the very strong nature of the mixture (*zakkyō* 雜居) of all three (Maruyama 1961: 14). Confucian Shinto is a way of combining the 'other' Confucianism with Japanese native Shinto, and its representatives are a typical form of thought produced during the process of the Japanization of Confucianism. From entering Japanese society to becoming one of the ancient

²⁵ Hayashi 1940: 122: 除夕蒙台命，賜余兄弟法印位，何榮幸加之哉！雞日共服法服，執拜謁於殿中。獻雄劍龍蹄，而乃稽首趨進跪飲，觴瀝，且受御衣一襲，何意此身為青雲之士也。原夫法印者，沙門位也，而配僧正官。今余兄弟元是儒也，然祝髮者久隨國俗，與太伯之斷髮、孔子之鄉服何以異哉？復何傷焉？有說于此。寺，官舍也，借為梵宇；精舍，本齋也，亦借為蘭若名。典，常也；經，亦常也。聖人之言，萬世宜常行之，故以為其名。然浮屠假托之，號修多羅為典、經，則盍反其本哉！先王有法服有法言，四書六經，有讀法，其皆見於筆墨，垂於不朽，故墨以傳萬古文章之印，是吾所取之法印也。謂之心印，亦可矣。是此授位非吾兄弟所曾期望也。而今自上裁之，則恩不亦厚乎？所謂自天命之者乎？



layers of Japanese thought, Confucianism needed not only the power of the shogunate but also the long-term efforts of Japanese Confucians, particularly the Kyoto faction Confucians. During the early Edo period, the Kyoto faction was so vibrant that Confucian Shinto gradually developed and reached its theoretical perfection. As far as Confucian Shinto is concerned, it can be divided into three forms: (1) Shinto-Confucian syncretism, (2) the use of Shinto by Confucianism, and (3) the Confucianization of Shinto.

The first is Shinto-Confucian syncretism which can be regarded as the preliminary stage of the development of Confucian Shinto in which Shinto and Confucianism are in a state of inseparable fusion. Alíz Horvath (2021: 53) accepts the proposition of the existence of a Confucianized Shinto but also points out that ‘the extent to which these contents represent the amalgamation of Confucian and Shinto concepts is, at present, unclear.’ Shinto is often used as an argument to describe the particularity of Japanese Confucianism, but Shinto also has its own developmental process and many subdivisions. From the perspective of Confucian Shinto which is most closely related to Confucianism, although the order of Shinto and Confucianism differs in terms of ideology, it is undeniable that Shinto has been colored with a strong Confucian nature in the process of systematization. The role of the Three Sacred Treasures (*sanshu no jingi* 三種の神器) in Shinto has long been settled without doubt, but the special spiritual meaning embedded in it can be traced back to the *Chronicles of the Authentic Lineages of the Divine Emperors* (*Shin'nōshōtōki* 神皇正統記) written by Kitabatake Chikafusa 北畠親房. Kitabatake melded the Three Sacred Treasures with the notions of self-cultivation (*xiushen* 修身), the rectification of heart-mind (*zhengxin* 正心), and extension of knowledge (*zhizhi* 致知) thereby injecting the Confucian spirit represented by the *Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學) into the thought behind the Three Sacred Treasures. Regarding the relationship between Confucianism and Shinto explained in the *Authentic Lineages of the Divine Emperors*, Liu Yuebing 劉嶽兵 contends that ‘Confucianism and Shinto are not completely contradictory but have something in common. In this sense, there is no substantial difference regarding either Confucianism or Shinto as the root of Confucian Shinto thought. The purpose of the text of the *Authentic Lineages of the Divine Emperors* is to demonstrate theoretically and historically that Japan is a kingdom of the divine. All kinds of ideas in Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism have become spiritual resources to demonstrate the argument that Great Japan is a Kingdom of the divine in the *Authentic Lineages of the Divine Emperors*.’²⁶ This points out that Shinto and Confucianism were in a state of inseparable fusion at this preliminary stage.

The state of the syncretism of Shinto and Confucianism is also reflected in the thought of Fujiwara Seika and Hayashi Razan. Fujiwara Seika (1975: 248–249) has a theory called ‘differing in names but identical in heart’ (*mēi shin'dō* 名異心同): ‘The Japanese Shinto rectifies my heart-mind as well, with mercy on the populace and benevolence as its highest ideal as well as the way of Yao 堯 and Shun 舜. It is named Confucianism in China and Shinto in Japan. They are different in name but the identical in heart.’²⁷ Hayashi Razan’s theory that ‘Heavenly Principle is Shinto at heart (理當心地神道)’ is even more influential in academia and is regarded as a pioneering paradigm form of modern Japanese Confucian Shinto, and its essential idea is that Shintoi is the

²⁶ Liu 2015: 130: 儒學與神道在北畠親房的思想中並不是完全矛盾的，而是有相通的一面。從這種意義上說，認為其思想的根本在儒學，或在神道，並沒有實質性的區別。《神皇正統記》著述的目的就是要力圖理論地、歷史地論證日本是神國的思想。儒、道、佛各種思想實際上都成為其論證《神皇正統記》所開宗明義的‘大日本者神國也’這一論斷的精神資源。

²⁷ 日本の神道も我心を正して、万民をあはれみ慈悲を施を極意とし、堯舜の道も極意とするなり。（中國）もろこしにては儒道と云、日本にては神道といふ。名はかはり、心は一なり。



King's Way: 'Heavenly principle is Shinto at heart, which means Shinto is the King's Way. There is no Divineness nor Principles outside the heart-mind. When the heart-mind is clear and limpid, it is the light of the Divine; when the deeds are correct, it is the disposition of the Divine; when the decrees are done, it is the virtue of the Divine; when the country is properly ruled, it is the power of the Divine. It is handed down by Amaterasu-Ōmikami 天照大神 and ruled by emperors from generation to generation since Emperor Jinmu 神武天皇.'²⁸ It is generally believed that the arguments of Seika and Razan inherit the theory of Shinto-Confucian syncretism since medieval Japan because similar expressions are also reflected in Shinto thoughts such as Ise Shinto 伊勢神道 and Yoshida Shinto 吉田神道. However, Han Dongyu 韓東育 has pointed out that the fundamental premise of the era of Seika and Razan has changed:

For the first time, the Japanese Fujiwara Seika developed an orthodoxy belief about China's Confucianism, and Shinto, the inherent spiritual force of Japan, also began to stand upright with the help of Confucianism, especially Zhu Xi studies in the anti-Buddhist movement and completed the preliminary attempt of forming Japan's own orthodoxy for the first time in early modern Japan. This makes Shinto cast aside the subordinate relationship it had with Buddhism since the medieval period while the establishment of the new relationship is the subordination of Confucianism to Shinto rather than the opposite. Because Hayashi Razan is the key advocate of this work, and the fact that Razan made the placement of Confucianism as the Inner Principle for the sake of taking advantage of Confucianism, on the contrary, highlights the 'other' characteristics of Zhu Xi studies. In light of the above, his tendency toward nationalism seems to be even stronger when compared with other scholars.²⁹

This is undoubtedly a deliberate inference worthy of careful analysis. First of all, whether we look from Seiko's argument devoted to abandoning Buddhism while embracing Confucianism or Razan's fierce exclusion of Buddhism, it is not difficult to see the consciousness of protection of indigenous Shinto and the concept of orthodoxy derived from Song dynasty China. Besides, it is also true that most Japanese Confucian scholars including Razan, Muro Kyūsō, Amenomori Hōshū 雨森芳洲, and Kaibara Ekken advocated the idea that Confucianism be subordinate to Shinto. However, based on these two premises, it may lead us to different conclusions from that offered by Han Dongyu. Even if Hayashi Razan introduced Confucianism to exclude Buddhism, what Han referred to as a nationalist emotion, then it can only be safely said that this nationalist

²⁸ Hayashi 1972: 19: 理当心地神道、此神道即王道也。心ノ外ニ別ノ神ナク別ノ理ナシ。心清明ナルハ神ノ光也。行跡正ハ神ノ姿也。政行ルハ神ノ徳也。国治ハ神力也。是ハ天照大神ヨリ相伝マシキ、神武以來代々帝王御一人シロシメス事也。

²⁹ Han 2015: 253: 日本人藤原惺窩第一次對中國“道統”萌生了“正宗”性念頭，而日本固有的精神力量——神道，也在排佛運動中借助儒學特別是朱子學的力量開始走向挺立，並首次在近世完成了如何形成日本人自身“道統”的初步嘗試。它使神道在相當程度上擺脫了中世以來從屬於佛教的主從關係，而新的關係的建立卻是儒學對神道的從屬而不是相反。由於這一工作的關鍵推進者是林羅山，而羅山出於利用目的才對“儒道”作“內道”安置之行為本身，反而突出了朱子學的“他者”特徵，因此，其內心深處的民族主義情緒，與他老師相比，似有過之而無不及。



emotion is still in the stage of preliminary awakening, otherwise it will lead to another paradox: if we introduce Confucianism which is still considered the 'other' to expel Buddhism which is also an 'other',³⁰ then how can we guarantee that the foreign Confucianism will not intrude on indigenous Shinto even more? In other words, once the principle of Zhu Xi studies is implanted inside Shinto, and Confucianism is placed in Shinto as Inner Principle, then it is highly possible that Shinto, which originally lacks a theoretical system, may be Confucianized from the root. In fact, as for the subsequent Japanese scholars who firmly rejected Chineseness, it is still impossible for them to completely cut off the connection with the 'other' Confucianism. Tsuda Sōkichi 津田左右吉 has accurately pinpointed the keynote of Confucian Shinto in the first half of the Edo period when the Kyoto faction was most active:

The first half of the Edo period refers to the period before the rise of the Shinto theory. The characteristic of Shinto thought in this period is equipped with a strong color of Confucianism, and it can even be called Confucianized Shinto³¹. This trend is pervasive not only in the new advocacy but even in the Yoshida Shinto system and the Ise Shinto system. The use of Confucianism in the teachings of Shinto did not begin at this time. In the past, both Confucianism and Daoism from China were adopted, but the mainstream of Shinto in this period seldom made use of Daoism. Moreover, as compared with the use of Confucian thought in the teachings of Shinto, it is more appropriate to say that Shinto is preached based on Confucian thought, just as Buddhists in the past preached Shinto based on Buddhist thought. Therefore, it is inevitable that Buddhism will be rejected. With the popularity of Confucianism, the learned mostly studied the Confucian classics which formed a trend for Confucian scholars to lead in academic circles while the Shinto family was also involved. Similarly, many Confucian scholars studied Shinto without embracing it.³²

In the above quotation, Tsuda deliberately distinguishes two different expressions: preaching Shinto by use of Confucian thought and preaching Shinto based on Confucian thought. The latter position is reflected in the phrase Confucianized Shinto which Tsuda places in the first half of the Edo period. In other words, from the perspective of subject and object, when Shinto is still making use of Confucian thought, it is the subject and Confucianism is the object, but when Confucianism gradually becomes the basis of Shinto, the order of subject and object is completely

³⁰ Buddhism is considered as the 'other' to indigenous Shinto but Buddhism dominated Japan for such a long time that the scholars combined Confucianism and Shinto in order to expel the 'other' Buddhism; this is what is meant by so-called Confucian Shinto. However, Confucianism itself is not indigenous either. Thus, there is the phenomena of scholars introducing the 'other' of Confucianism to expel the 'other' of Buddhism.

³¹ As for the difference between Confucian Shinto and Confucianized Shinto, the former refers to the assimilation of Confucian teachings into Shinto only under the premise of accepting the unity of Shinto and Confucianism. Generally, Confucian Shinto stresses taking advantage of Confucianism as a tool to strengthen the indigenous Shinto while Confucianized Shinto focuses on the reshaping of Shinto by Confucianism.

³² Tsuda 2011: 144: 江戸時代前半期，是指所謂國學者的神道說興起之前的時期。這一時期神道思想的特色，在於帶有強烈的儒教色彩，稱其為“儒教化神道”也不過分。不但新宣導的是這樣，連屬於伊勢神道和舊部神道系統的也是如此發展變化而來的。利用儒教來講神道，並不是從這時才開始的，以前對中國思想，在利用儒教的同時，還採納了道家或道教的思想，但這一時期神道的主流，卻很少利用道家道教。而且，與其說是利用儒教思想來講神道，還不如說是以儒教思想為根據來說神道更為貼切，誠如從前的佛者們以佛教思想為根據去講神道那樣。於是，佛教遭到排斥是必然的了。隨著儒教的流行，讀書人的知識為儒教的書籍所培養，形成了儒者指導學術界的風潮，神道家門也被捲入進去了。同樣，不處於神道家地位而論述神道的儒者也很多。



reversed. That is to say, Confucianism has superseded Shinto to occupy the main field of thought, which is the overall developmental trend of Confucian Shinto. In addition, Tsuda further proposed four representations of Confucianization of Shinto: (1) regarding Shinto as a political way, (2) endowing Shinto with moral significance, (3) the Shinto tendency toward rationalism, and (4) the unity of humanity and nature in Shinto. Tsuda (2011: 179) concluded that:

Shinto is the political and moral teaching prescribed by *kami*. This *kami* is not so much the *kami* of the universe as the ancient son of Heaven who founded Shinto. In this sense, he is regarded as the ancestor *kami*. And its church is regarded as the teaching of the heart-mind, which synchronizes the human heart-mind with *kami*. In this sense, we discuss the theory of the unity of heaven and humanity.³³

In this sense, both the political and moral edifying significance of Shinto comes from the theoretical framework of Confucianism. Given this, Confucianism not only affords Shinto the material to build its regimes but also gives meaning to Shinto's Three Sacred Treasures and rituals. The theoretical influence of Confucianism on Shinto cannot be ignored, especially in the inclusion of key concepts such as respect, sacrifice, loyalty, filial piety, justice, benevolence, and so on. However, Tsuda directly penetrated the superficial representations that Shinto absorbed a large number of core concepts of Confucianism and he thought-provokingly unraveled the inner correlation between Shinto and Confucianism from the standpoint of Shinto scholars.

To acknowledge the profound correlation between the theorization of Shinto and Confucianism is not to deny the difference between them. In other words, Shinto and Confucianism are two heterogeneous traditions. Consequently, the problem is precisely how Confucianism, as a highly systematic 'other', should get along with Shinto as the native Japanese thought. In this regard, we can further discuss the relationship between Shinto and Confucianism from the perspective of "Shinto as substance and Confucianism as application" (*shintai jiyūō* 神体儒用). Compared with the elaborations of Confucian Shinto in the Chikafusa, Razan, and Seika periods, the analysis of the relationship between Confucianism and Shinto with the substance-application theory is a manifestation that the theoretical level of Confucian Shinto has developed to a higher level, as it is expounded by Kaibara Ekken:

Shinto is the principle of purity, honesty, simplicity, and integrity and it is a constant Way for human relations and daily use. Shinto conforms to native customs and indigenous practices, and it embodies the characteristics of accessibility and simplicity without cumbersome practices. Accessibility means it is easy to learn, and simplicity means it is easy to follow. As the substance of the thought, it is plain but not flamboyant or complicated, so it constantly possesses a degree of sincerity. Although the teachings seem shallow and

³³ Tsuda 2011: 179: 神道は神規定の政治と道徳之教，神與其說是宇宙神，還不如說是立教之古聖天子，在這一意義上被當作了皇祖神。且其教又被當作是心之教，本來不失為和神同一的人心，在這個意義上講天人合一說。



approachable, there is a profound truth in them. Hence, if Shinto is utilized to rectify the heart and strengthen human relations, then there will be peace in the world and no disasters or chaos.³⁴

Since medieval Japan, the classics of the sage have flowed into our country and its way of rectifying the heart and strengthening human relations is no different from our Shinto. And its teachings are widely comprehensive, subtle, and deep and they can be used to assist our state religion and help to expound Shinto. Hence, those who study Shinto must also study the way of the sage. Simplicity is what makes the teachings of Shinto and its basic idea can even be summarized in one word. Therefore, although we do not need to ask for external help, with the auxiliary wing of Confucianism the principles of Shinto will be much more enlightened.³⁵

Kaibara claimed that Confucianism is no different from Shinto thus confirming that Confucianism is not seen as Shinto's 'other'. However, different from the early Confucian Shinto theories, Kaibara does not simply adhere to the theory of Shinto-Confucian syncretism but seeks to present the complex relationship as neither two different teachings nor the same teachings. In terms of the substance-application relationship, there is a consistency between Confucianism and Shinto in their origins as the substance and application share the same origin, yet there are subtle discrepancies as well. From Kaibara Ekken's exposition, it is not difficult to conclude that on the surface, Shinto is the substance and Confucianism is relatively in the position of the application as an auxiliary wing of the state religion. What is worth merit is that the terms or criteria which Kaibara employs to define Shinto are all derived from the basic principles of Confucianism, be it rectifying daily use and strengthening human relations or accessibility and simplicity denoting the superiority of Shinto.

A stage of more profound transformation than that represented by Kaibara's substance-application theory is found in Confucianized Shinto, which means that Confucianism has infiltrated its basic principles into the systematic construction of Shinto and although Shinto is still presented with a Japanese facade after being Confucianized, it has been deeply branded with the principles of Confucianism from its form to its content. This theory is enunciated in Amenomori Hōshū's theory of Shinto:

I once said, 'That our country is called the State of Military is not a settled conclusion.' Right after the pacification of the calamity of the country, the son of Heaven thought deliberately about how to rule the country and once dreamed of being granted worthy subjects. Then he chose the worthies in the world and entrusted them with expeditionary tasks as well as ministers for internal issues. As a result, the government could wipe out the culprits and evil enemies to find the great cause of rectifying the world. After that, the Emperor's rule was illuminated and achievements were established. More than sixty states were uni-

³⁴ Kaibara 1985: 220: 夫我神道是清淨誠明平易正直之理，乃人倫日用之常道。順方俗合土宜，其為教也，易簡而不煩不巧，易則易知，簡則易從。其為體也，淳朴而不華不繁，故常不失其誠。其說雖似淺近，然其中有深妙之理存焉。以是正心術厚人倫，則天下和平，而災害不生，禍亂不起。

³⁵ Kaibara 1985: 220: 中世以來，聖人之典籍流入我邦，其正心術厚人倫之道，與吾神道無異。而其為教也，廣大悉備，精微深至，以可輔翼邦教，發明於神道。故學神道者，亦不可不學聖人之道。蓋神教固是易簡之要訣，得其要者一言而盡矣。故雖不待求乎外，然得儒教之輔翼而其理益明備矣。



fied as if they were happily ascending the platforms erected in spring. People know the use of the divine sword but do not know that the divine seal and divine mirror are the foundation, so it is known as the State of Military. Despite this, the use of the civil and military is like the interaction of *yin* and *yang*. Although the world is safe, it is dangerous to abandon military causes. If the military is abandoned, civilization will not exist either. Accordingly, if the divine sword is abandoned, the divine seal and divine mirror will be wiped out as well. The teachings of Yao and Shun were recorded in words and the sacred inheritance of Shinto was entrusted to the Three Sacred Treasures. With the Three Sacred Treasures comes world peace.³⁶

Taking the orthodoxy to which Neo-Confucianism attaches great importance as the model, Amenomori established the Shinto Orthodoxy with the Three Sacred Treasures at its center. Although dissecting the spiritual meaning of Three Sacred Treasures with the basic concepts of Confucianism was detailed previously by Kitabatake Chikafusa, the importance of Amenomori's theory lies in the fact that he no longer stayed in the stage of concepts of transmission, but instead, he initiated the construction of a system. In other words, Confucianism had become the basis of Amenomori's Shinto theory, that is, it had become one of the ways to expound the sanctity of Shinto. When the source of sanctity, basic ideas, and even edifying functions of Shinto are all as closely linked with Confucianism as flesh and blood we then know that, in a sense, Confucianism has penetrated deep into the most fundamental part of Japanese culture. In a word, Confucianism has completed the process of naturalization in Japan at this stage.

IV. CONCLUDING REMARKS: REDEFINING THE ROLE OF THE KYOTO FACTION

When we are no longer limited to the concept of single-country vernacularization and replace it with the trans-East Asian perspective, we may be able to gradually restore the spectrum of Confucianism which constantly radiates outward. If we re-examine the thought of the main figures of the Kyoto faction from the perspective of the continuous Japanization of Confucianism, we will discover that the Confucian scholars of the Kyoto faction kept promoting the historical penetration of Confucianism into Japanese society through various channels, including vernacularization and sanctification. As a result, Confucianism, as the 'other', finally became one of the ancient layers of Japan: 'In the second half of the 18th century, *daimyo* began to set up learning institutes (such as "vassal schools" or *hankō* 藩校) so samurai could study Confucianism. As such, it was established as the basic curriculum for samurai or common people who were interested in learning.³⁷ In other words, in addition to the officially recognized Yushima Seidō, vassal

³⁶ Amenomori 1980: 15–16: 余嘗有言曰：“我國稱為武國者，非通論也。”蓋國家靖難之初，聖天子恭默思治，夢帝賁弼，選擇天下之大賢，授以征夷之任，兼以內府之司。故能殲滅元凶，掃蕩妖氛，以成整頓乾坤之大業。而後皇統明於上，霸功建於下。六十餘州，熙熙然如登春臺，人知其神劍之為用甚大，而不知神璽、神鏡乃為之本，故有武國之稱耳。雖然，文武之為用，猶陰陽之相待也。天下雖安，忘戰則危。武不武，則文不文，神劍一廢，而神璽、神鏡亦將從而隳矣。竊惟堯舜之授受著於言，神聖之傳繼托於器。必也三器備而後天下永泰平矣。

³⁷ Karube 2017: 136: やがて十八世紀の後半になると、大名家が学問所（藩校）を設立して武士たちに儒学を学ばせる例が登場するようになり、武士の、あるいは学問に関心のある庶民の基礎教養として定着した。



schools also began to teach Confucianism. With this continuous expansion, Confucianism was no longer confined to scholarly discussion and solidified as an element basic education thus demonstrating that Confucianism had penetrated deep into Japanese society from the samurai class all the way to the commoner class. However, it should be noted that because there was no Imperial Examination system in Japan similar to that of China and Korea, the vernacularization process of Confucianism in Japan is not as evident. This requires we understand the influence of Confucianism on Japanese society from a different perspective: although Confucianism is not a passport to enter an official career, it gradually became an indispensable cultural prerequisite for the upper classes, that is, the samurai class. The commoner class also followed the samurai in this trend. In this regard, apt remarks on the influence of Confucianism on Japan by Kojima Tsuyoshi 小島毅 goes as follows:

Indeed, the society dominated by samurai in the Edo period was not Confucian. Moreover, Confucianism was not the state religion of the Edo shogun system. However, it was not only the samurai who studied Confucianism and regarded it as the code of ethics. Confucianism also penetrated the commoners and the greater populace and became one of the driving forces of the Meiji Restoration.³⁸

As can be seen from the above citations, even if Confucianism is not state orthodoxy in Japan, it does not prevent Confucianism from becoming the ethical and moral norm of the Japanese and it was even one of the driving forces of the Meiji Restoration. There is no doubt that many Edo Confucian scholars outside the Kyoto faction also played a role to varying degrees in this process, but the Zhu Xi studies scholars of the Kyoto faction not only separated Confucianism from Buddhism but also completed the officialization of Zhu Xi studies and also contributed to the wide spread of Confucianism in Japanese society. These feats, which should have been extolled in the history of Japanese Confucianism, should not be blinded by what Inoue called redundancy.

If the Zhu Xi studies scholars of the Kyoto faction occupied the important position mentioned above, why did Tetsujirō Inoue, who first created the tripartite division³⁹ of Japanese Confucian history, regard it as the spiritual slave of Zhu Xi studies so that the Kyoto faction is still eclipsed today? Further, why did Confucianism gradually withdraw from the stage of Japanese history after the completion of the Japanization of Confucianism?

This question involves the more complicated development of Meiji Confucianism, which is not a problem that can be solved in this article. Here is only an example: Japanized Confucianism became a tool for the Japanese to translate and introduce Western thought, which not only high-

³⁸ Kojima 2006: 158–159: 江戸時代に武士が支配する社会は、確かに儒教的ではありませんでした。そして、儒教は江戸幕藩体制の国教ではありませんでした。しかし儒家思想は学ばれ、倫理道徳規範として、武士のみならず町人、百姓たちにも浸透していきます。それは明治維新の一つの原動力にもなりました。

³⁹ Inoue Tetsujirō divides the whole of the intellectual history of Tokugawa Japan into the three parts of *Nihon omeigakuha no tetsugaku* 日本陽明學派之哲學 [The philosophy of Wang Yangming Learning in Japan] (1900), *Nihon kogakuha no tetsugaku* 日本古學派之哲學 [The philosophy of Ancient Learning in Japan] (1902) and *Nihon shushigakuha no tetsugaku* 日本朱子學派之哲學 [The philosophy of Zhu Xi Studies in Japan] (1905). '現在でも日本史教科書が、朱子学・古学・陽明学の三種類に分類して徳川時代の思想を紹介するのも、いまだにその影響が残っている証拠である。The classification is long lasting and today is evidenced by the same classification used in modern Japanese history textbooks' (Karube 2017: 144).



lights the completion of the Japanization of Confucianism but also alludes to the changes after the Japanization of Confucianism. As for the trend after its completion, Watanabe Hiroshi 渡辺浩 put forward a representative theory on the suicide of Japanese Confucianism:

The Meiji Restoration was not only about the revitalization of the Emperor's rule, but also the Westernization revolution of Confucianism at the same time. And because of this, later, the ideas of Confucianism were gradually absorbed by Western ideas, and relatively quickly lost their ideological life as an independent intellectual system. In other words, at least in Japan, Confucianism played a leading role in the process of introducing modernity that originated in the West, and it was precisely this that led to its suicide.⁴⁰

The Westernization revolution of Confucianism mentioned by Watanabe refers to the fact that Confucianism became a medium for the assimilation of Western learning in the Meiji period. 'Revolution' here means that Confucianism was abandoned after the assimilation of Western learning even though Confucianism served as the medium through assimilating Western learning was realized. This seems to be like forgetting the means used to attain an end. However, the means-end relationship is not necessarily applicable to the issue of Confucianism and Western thought because the former can be completely separated while the latter is integrated into an inextricable whole. This argument on the suicide of Japanese Confucianism is common in Japanese academic scholar due to its particular origin. Hiraishi Naoaki 平石直昭 (1996: 5) once pointed out that the 'modernization of Confucianism' (儒教の「近代化」) and the 'Japanization of Confucianism as a foreign idea' (外来思想である儒学の「日本化」) are the two main paradigms in the study of the intellectual history of Tokugawa Japan. Whether it is Maruyama Masao's (1952) construction of the Japanese modern mode of thought centered on Ogyū Sorai studies or Bitō Masahide's (1961) argumentation of Japanized Confucianism based on Yamazaki Ansai's Zhu Xi studies, or Watanabe's (1985) theory about China's Zhu Xi studies' incompatibility with Tokugawa Japan, the post-war mainstream view of Japanese intellectual history has continued the air of modernist Japanese particularity theory, and this so-called particularity is rooted in the obliteration of the process of Japanization of Confucianism of Edo Japan in the Meiji period.

As mentioned previously, ever since Inoue Tetsujirō deemed Japanese Zhu Xi studies as the spiritual slave of Zhu Xi studies; Japanese scholars downplayed the Japanese Zhu Xi studies learning including the Kyoto faction. Consequently, it is particularly essential to restore the role of the Kyoto faction in promoting the Japanization of Confucianism. In addition, from the process of promoting the Japanization of Confucianism by the Kyoto faction, we can also find the circulation of Confucianism in East Asia: Neo-Confucianism, represented by Song studies, entered Japan from the medieval ages, took root and sprouted continuously in modern times, was disseminated widely at the end of the 18th century, and was inversely imported into China in the East-West confluence of the Meiji Restoration. It has played a monumental role in the modern transformation of Chinese traditional culture, including Confucianism. In reviewing the Kyoto faction in terms of this transmission, we find it at the first stage of Confucianism's penetration

⁴⁰ Watanabe 2016: 158: 明治維新既是“大振皇基”之語所表示的“王政復古”革命，也許同時又是儒學“西洋”化的革命。而且正由於此，使得後來，儒學諸理念漸漸被西洋思想吸收，相對地迅速地失去了作為獨立體系的思想生命。也就是說，至少在日本，儒學在引進起源於西洋的“近代”的過程中發揮了先導作用，而且，正因如此而導致了自殺。



into modern Japan. Of course, in this transmission, there is another crucial part: Korean Confucianism, which significantly benefited the Confucians of the Kyoto faction including Seika and Razan. This is also a research topic that merits in-depth study alongside the study of the Kyoto faction.

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